

MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF GEORGE CALEB BINGHAM

BY C. B. ROLLINS

George Caleb Bingham and my father were friends for forty-five years. This friendship began in Columbia in the spring of 1834 at their first meeting, and lasted without interruption until Mr. Bingham's death in Kansas City, July 7, 1879. During this period, they carried on an extensive correspondence. Both men were voluminous writers, and at least a thousand letters must have passed between them. Of these letters, I have 135 from Bingham, many of them of the most intimate personal character, and it is mainly on them, and my recollections of the man, that I base these reminiscences. The letters are not always in close sequence, but in spite of gaps, they give the thread and tenor of his life and reveal him somewhat as he appeared to those who knew him best.

I remember first seeing Bingham about 1860; he was a frequent visitor in my father's home. The time I first recall him, he arrived one evening for a visit, and I, a youngster, was deputed to show him to his room. Filled with my own importance, I walked briskly ahead carrying a candle to light the way, while Bingham followed with his valise and portfolio. I set the candle down, and then with childish curiosity lingered to see what the portfolio, which he had begun to unstrap, might contain. He laid out a few things, and I recall my disappointment at the meager contents. But my curiosity was yet to be satisfied in full measure. After unpacking his artist's materials, he took off his coat and hung it on a chair, went to the bureau, untied and removed his choker, and then to my unspeakable amazement, lifted off the entire top of his head, exposing a great white dome. I was speechless with fright and fled in terror; I had never seen or heard of a wig before. My mother finally quieted my fears by explaining

to me that when Mr. Bingham was about nineteen years old, he had a severe attack of measles which left him bald, and ever since, he had worn a wig, the removal of which had given me such a scare. From that hour, Mr. Bingham assumed great importance in my eyes; for *me*, he was a marked man.

Many years later, after Bingham had been married the third time and had brought his bride to live at Stephens College, Columbia, his wig again played a stellar role. One day at dinner, the waitress in some way caught the button on her sleeve in a curl of Bingham's wig and whisked it half way around the table before it could be recovered—much to the mortification of the bride and to the amusement of the teachers and pupils present. But Bingham, with that philosophy which characterized him through life, remarked that as his own hair would not stay on his head, it was hardly natural to suppose anybody else's would.

We children looked forward with the greatest pleasure to Bingham's visits. He was a lover of children and would tell us stories and illustrate them with sketches of the characters as he went along. Some of these sketches I still have and value highly. Those days, remember, were the dignified, leisurely days of the ante-bellum period—before the hectic rush and turmoil of more recent times. Then, a visit of less than a week from a friend was considered cold treatment, and Bingham frequently came and stayed with us a month or six weeks at a time.

Bingham was a man of strong convictions; in fact, his opinions were convictions. And in his mental processes, he was one of the most direct men I ever knew. His mind acted at once on the matter in hand, and he did not wait until tomorrow to decide what he should have said or done in a given case. In this connection, I recall an amusing incident which occurred in 1866. Dr. Read had just become president of the university. At the time, Mr. Bingham, who did not know Dr. Read, was visiting at our house, and my father invited Dr. Read to take dinner and meet Mr. Bingham. There were several gentlemen present, and after a good dinner, everybody was in a talkative humor and the conversation grew very general and intimate. The subject of matrimony

came up. Dr. Read, through one of those inexplicable blunders that wise men will sometimes fall into, remarked that he was a monogamist, and that he could think of no more fitting epitaph for himself, nor one he would desire more, than that he was the faithful husband of one wife. Mr. Bingham, who had already been twice married and probably had in the back of his mind that he might marry again should opportunity occur, (and it did occur), was on his feet at once. He walked over to Dr. Read, shook his finger in his face and said "I want you to know, sir, that men whose shoe laces you are not worthy to unloose have been married oftener than once." It required all the tact and social presence-of-mind of which my father was master to restore harmony. Bingham and Dr. Read later became warm friends and Bingham painted portraits of him and his wife.

Some years later, when Bingham was adjutant general of Missouri and my father a member of the General Assembly, General William T. Sherman (a brother-in-law, by the way, of General Ewing) visited Jefferson City. While my father was showing Sherman the capitol, they stopped in at Bingham's office and the three went together to the Senate chamber where among other pictures was an equestrian portrait of "Old Hickory" by Bingham. Sherman, not aware of the authorship of the picture, blurted out in his blunt soldierly fashion: "The artist has put that horse in an impossible attitude. No horse could ever have gotten into that position." Bingham looked at him a moment and then replied: "Have you noticed the rider of that horse? That is 'Old Hickory,' a great soldier and statesman, sir. He probably had as much to do with the position of that horse as the artist had. If the artist had been painting *you* on horseback, he would probably have placed you astride a gentle, duck-legged pony ambling quietly along a country lane."

In January, 1877, the Board of Curators established an art department and elected Bingham the first professor of art in the University of Missouri; and he held the position until his death in 1879. Under the terms of his appointment, he was permitted to practice his profession; and he painted many portraits and some pictures during the time of his incumbency.

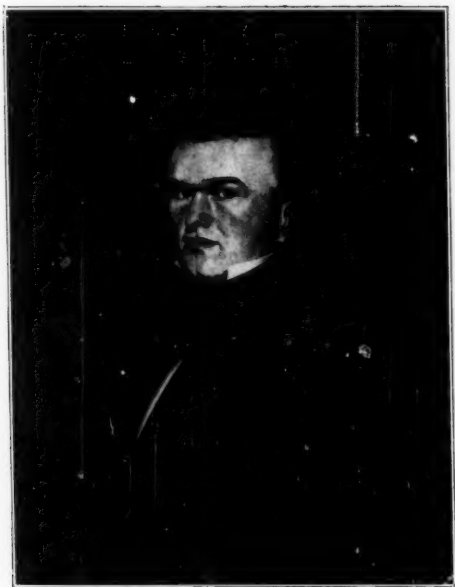
Among the portraits he painted at this time was a very fine one of Dr. Laws, who was then president of the University. In 1876, Dr. Laws had brought here from New York City, to fill the chair of Hebrew and Semitic Literature, Dr. Alexander Meyrowitz, a fine, scholarly old gentleman who, though versed in his profession, was woefully lacking in tact. One day he wandered into Bingham's studio, and seeing the portrait of his friend, Dr. Laws, on the easel, began to criticize it with all the assurance of ignorance. Meyrowitz, who was very nearsighted and wore enormous, thick convex lenses, went up to within a foot of the painting and, peering at it, said: "I don't like this picture; you don't do Dr. Laws justice. You make him look like a goat." Bingham, to whom the remarks had been addressed, replied sharply: "Well, sir, you show yourself as much a judge of art as of propriety. This is a fine portrait of Dr. Laws, so acknowledged by the Doctor himself and his friends. Had I wanted to paint a goat, I should certainly have selected you for my model."

The first letter I find from Bingham to my father is from Natchez, Mississippi, May 6, 1837. Bingham had gone there for the double purpose of recuperating his health and painting some of the distinguished citizens of the South. This letter was written when Bingham was 26 years old, and is, I think, of sufficient interest to warrant its insertion.

Natchez, May 6, 1837.

My dear Sir,

I at last take upon myself the task of writing a letter. It, however, becomes a pleasant one, when performed in addressing an old and valued friend. You recollect when we met last winter in St. Louis, it was then my intention to have returned immediately to Boonville, preparatory for a trip to the east, but bad roads and broken stages rendered it impossible, and two or three days after you left, myself and wife also departed for the South. We overtook your boat, the Vandalia, at Vicksburg, and as we landed for a few minutes I went on board of her, anticipating the pleasure of seeing you, but tho "the nest was there and still warm, the bird had flown;" you had just walked up into the city and I was



BINGHAM'S PORTRAIT OF HIMSELF, PAINTED
AT THE AGE OF 24

disappointed. That night at 11 o'clock we arrived at Natchez, and after remaining two weeks, I succeeded in getting a room and commenced business. I have been regularly employed during the winter, at from \$40 to \$60 per portrait, and flattered myself that I was doing well, notwithstanding the exorbitant price of living in this country.

But circumstances which now exist here, must deprive me of the benefit of my earnings for at least 6 or 8 months. The Agricultural and Planters Banks of this city, both stopped payment on the 2nd inst. and their notes to those who are compelled to leave here are almost valueless. The immediate cause of the failure of the Agricultural Bank, was a demand from the Treasury of the U. S. for one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, she being one of the pet banks. As the sum was rather larger than could be spared conveniently, it was deemed most prudent not to pay it. The Planters Bank immediately followed suit.

The notes of these banks constituted the principal currency of the country, and the state of affairs which their failure has produced is truly alarming. It is apprehended that almost every institution of the kind in the state will immediately suspend specie payments. It is useless to attempt to give an adequate idea of the pressure for money that prevails throughout the South. The most literal statement of facts must appear to those who are at a distance, as the ebullition of an overheated imagination. A week or two since, in another quarter of this State, a gentleman having in his possession a few one-hundred-dollar U. S. notes was induced to put them up to the highest bidder, at a few months' credit, the purchaser giving bond and ample security. They sold for two hundred and fifty dollars apiece.

Almost every countenance is shrouded in gloom in anticipation of the distress which must be produced this summer.

All this is attributed to the interference of the government with the established currency of the country, and to the Treasury Circular.

I expect to leave this place in a few days for Missouri and will perhaps spend the best part of the summer there. I will try and visit Columbia, and if you could procure me sub-

scribers for a dozen portraits at \$25 I should be glad to remain with you six or eight weeks previous to making a trip eastward. I cannot foresee where my destiny will lead me, it may become my interest to settle in some one of the eastern cities. The greater facilities afforded there, for improvement in my profession, would be the principal inducement. There is no honorable sacrifice which I would not make to attain eminence in the art to which I have devoted myself. I am aware of the difficulties in my way, and am cheered by the thought that they are no greater than those which impeded the course of Harding and Sully and many others. It is by combatting that we can overcome them, and by determined perseverance I expect to be successful.

Are you yet in the state of single blessedness? If so, I trust for your own credit that it will not long be the case. Do get a wife, and get children, and get me to paint you a family group.

Please present my respects to Dr. Bennett and lady, and to friend Miller. I trust it will not be long before I see you all once more. I will be in Boonville in three weeks from this date, and you must write to me there.

Yours G. C. BINGHAM.

J. S. Rollins, Esqr.

The "friend Miller" referred to in this letter was Thomas Miller, first president of Columbia College, the germ of our University.

During this winter in the south, Bingham went to Vicksburg for a short time, and it was here he met and painted a portrait of Seargent S. Prentiss. And if I am not mistaken, that portrait now hangs in the Mississippi Hall of Fame at Jackson. Bingham was much impressed with this brilliant young New Englander who had adopted Mississippi as his home and become a cavalier beloved of the entire south. Webster said of Prentiss that he was the greatest of American orators.

After Bingham's return from Natchez, he spent a part of the year painting portraits of some of the old settlers of Boone county. In the fall, he went to Philadelphia where he studied

his profession in the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. And during 1838, he studied for a time in New York City. Late in this year, he returned to his home at Arrow Rock and continued to practice his profession, devoting himself principally to portraiture. He painted a great number of portraits of men and women of Saline, Cooper, Howard, Boone, and other counties. Photography was not yet known. The portrait was the only method by which our fathers could transmit their effigies to future times. The desire not to be entirely forgotten was as strong then as now and prompted many to have their features committed to canvas. Back in those days, not to have a Bingham portrait on the wall of the parlor was as rare as not to have a Bible on the center table.

In June, 1840, a great Whig convention was to be held at Rocheport. The neighboring counties were vieing with each other in their demonstrations for "Old Tippecanoe and Tyler Too." In May, 1840, Thomas Miller, first president of Columbia College, wrote to Bingham at Arrow Rock asking him to paint for Boone county some banners to be used on that occasion. Bingham replied that he was at that time engaged on Tippecanoe banners for Saline county, and, to quote Bingham, "as our designs are intended to be worthy of the occasion it will require all the time from this until the meeting of the Convention to enable me to complete them. Otherwise I should certainly be with you." At the Convention, Bingham was one of the principal speakers along with Fletcher Webster, son of Daniel, Gen. Doniphan, Abiel Leonard, James S. Rollins, Col. John O'Fallon, and others.

Four years later, in the fall of 1844, another great Whig convention, this time in the interests of Clay, was to be held at Boonville, and the counties were once more demonstrating enthusiasm for their candidate by means of great processions and banners. Bingham was again asked to paint banners for Boone county, and his reply to this request is so interesting and so revealing of the spirit of the times that I insert it here. He wrote my father the following letter:

Boonville, Sept. 23, 1844.

Dear Sir,

Having been absent from Boonville for the last ten or twelve days, I did not receive your letter until last night.

With reference to the banners which you desire for your delegation to our convention, I can merely state, that I shall be happy to execute them provided you allow me to paint them on linen, the only material on which I can make an effective picture.

I am now just beginning one for Cooper and one for Howard, each 7 by 8 feet. On one I shall give a full length portrait of Clay as the statesman, with his American System operating in the distance, on the other I shall represent him as the plain farmer of Ashland—each of them will also have appropriate designs on the reverse side, and will be so suspended, as to be easily borne by four men walking in the order of the procession. The cost will be from fifty to sixty dollars each.

They will be substantial oil pictures and may be preserved as relics of the present political campaign. If your delegation would be pleased with a similar banner, as "Old Hal" is fully appropriated, I would suggest for the designs as peculiarly applicable to your county old Daniel Boone himself, engaged in one of his death struggles with an Indian, painted as large as life, it would make a picture that would take with the multitude, and also be in accordance with historical truth. It might be emblematic of the early state of the west, while on the other side I might paint a landscape with peaceful fields and lowing herds indicative of her present advancement in civilization.

It would be full as large as those I am preparing for Cooper and Howard, and borne in the procession in like manner. If you approve of my suggestions or see proper to make others, write to me as soon as possible as I shall have but little time to spare.

Yours Most respectfully,

GEO. C. BINGHAM.

Jas. S. Rollins, Esqr.

P. S. On the reverse side of the Howard banner I intend to portray a large buffalo just broken loose from his keepers making the poke stalks fly to the right and left in the fury of his unbridled career.

Last fall I was in New Franklin, Howard county, and met Mr. George C. Edwards, an old citizen. I inquired of him if by any chance he knew anything of those banners. He told me he was thoroughly familiar with them and that a few years before, they had been destroyed by fire when the store of Mr. Alsop in New Franklin, where the banners were hanging, burned.

In 1840, Bingham went to Washington, D. C., where he spent several years. He had a studio in a room of the unfinished capitol building where he painted portraits of many of the distinguished men of that date. Among them was John Quincy Adams. I have often heard Bingham tell how Adams happened to give him an order for a portrait.

One day, a gentleman whom he did not know, dropped into his studio, and after some casual conversation their talk drifted into a discussion of the Bible. Bingham had studied the Bible years before in New Franklin under the Rev. Justinian Williams, the minister-cabinet maker to whom as a boy he had been apprenticed for a term of years. Bingham said he soon discovered he knew much more about the Bible than his caller, and worsted him on every issue raised. The man was so impressed with Bingham's theological knowledge that he said: "Young man, if you know as much about painting portraits as you do about the Bible, you are an artist and I'll give you a sitting." In this way, he came to paint the portrait of John Quincy Adams, a small copy of which portrait, painted on a walnut board, Bingham presented to my father in 1840, and it is still in the family. It is pronounced by artists who have seen it as a fine piece of work and among Bingham's best portraits. Adams was so pleased with this portrait that he tendered Bingham more than the price agreed upon. Bingham declined to accept it, saying that he charged what he thought his work was worth and could accept no more. Bingham was then 29 years old.

It was in Washington City in 1844 that Bingham painted "Jolly Flatboatmen," his first genre canvas. This painting was purchased in 1845 by the American Art Union, and an engraving of it appeared as the frontispiece of their Journal for 1846 as the best picture of the kind that had appeared in this country the year before. It gave Bingham a wide reputation among eastern artists.

In 1845 or '46, Bingham returned to Arrow Rock, and along with his portrait painting began an active interest in politics.

In 1846, Bingham was the Whig candidate for the legislature from Saline county against E. D. Sappington, the democratic nominee. Bingham was declared elected by a majority of three votes and took his seat. Shortly after, his election was contested; and after much litigation, Sappington was given the seat. The contest was very laborious, and in the midst of it, Bingham gave vent to his irritation in a letter to my father from which the following quotation is taken:

"If when you see me again you should not find me that pattern of purity which you have hitherto taken me to be, let the fact that I have been for the last four months full waist deep in Locofocoism plead something in my behalf. An angel could scarcely pass through what I have experienced without being contaminated. God help poor human nature. As soon as I get through with this affair and its consequences, I intend to strip off my clothes and bury them, scour my body all over with sand and water, put on a clean suit, and keep out of the mire of politics *forever*."

However, he forgot his vow, for in 1848 we find him again the Whig candidate for the House of Representatives from Saline county; and this time he was triumphantly elected over his old opponent Sappington.

In 1851, Bingham was at work in Arrow Rock on his "County Election," and in 1853, he took this picture to Philadelphia to have it engraved by John Sartain. While there, having the picture engraved and busily engaged painting its companion piece, "Stump Speaking," he wrote:

"I have quite a serious notion to make '*Old Bullion*' appealing to the people of Missouri the subject of a future picture. That passage in the commencement of his speech at Fayette, in which he designates the friends he came to address, as those only who had 'heads to perceive and hearts to feel the truth,' would afford, I think, the best point of time for pictorial representation, as the action which accompanied it and gave it such emphasis, would display his fine portly figure to the best advantage, and also tell with most happy effect in the faces of the audience. The subject possesses additional recommendation to me from the fact that I could introduce in it the portraits of many of my friends who were present upon the occasion, and by a license, which painters as well as poets can take, I could make others present in the picture who were not present in fact."

The latter part of this quotation would seem to cast doubt on what I have often heard Bingham say, that he never consciously put into any of his groups the portraits of friends or enemies; that the figures were all composites drawn from his imagination. What a great picture this would have made!

I have seen so-called keys to Bingham's Election Series purporting to identify with local characters many of the figures in the pictures. In a letter dated December 12, 1853, I give the following quotation which may throw some light upon this moot question:

"My 'Stump Speaking' will keep me, I think, fully employed until 'The County Election' is ready for distribution. *The gathering of the sovereigns* is much larger than I had counted upon. A new head is continually popping up and demanding a place in the crowd, and as I am a thorough democrat, it gives me pleasure to accommodate them all. The consequence of this impertinence on one side, and indulgence on the other, is, that instead of the select company which my plan at first embraced, I have an audience that would be no discredit to the most populous precinct of Buncombe.

"I have located the assemblage in the vicinity of a mill, Kit Bullard's perhaps. The cider barrel being already appropriated in the 'County Election,' I have placed in lieu thereof,

but in the background, a watermelon wagon over which a darkie, of course, presides. This wagon and the group in and around looming up in shadow, and relieved by the clear sky beyond, forms quite a conspicuous feature in the composition, without detracting in the slightest degree from the interest inspired by the principal group in front.

"In my orator I have endeavored to personify a wiry politician grown gray in the pursuit of office and the service of party. His influence upon the crowd is quite manifest, but I have placed behind him a shrewd clear-headed opponent, who is busy taking notes, and who will, when his turn comes, make sophisms fly like cobwebs before the housekeeper's broom."

In a later letter from Philadelphia, Feb. 1, 1854, Bingham says:

"I am now giving the last touches to my 'Stump Speaking.' It will be a more imposing and effective picture than 'County Election' Mr. Sartain thinks that its exhibition will produce quite a sensation here."

Later in the same letter, he drops into politics and says:

"The Slavery agitation is too convenient an instrument in the hands of demagogues to be dispensed with. Douglas' infamous Nebraska Bill will cause the partially smothered fires to break out with greater violence than ever. Such is the peculiar state of parties at Washington that there is reason to fear that it will pass. The opposition to it, however, is evidently greater than its unscrupulous author anticipated, and knowing that his political fortunes are staked upon it, he blows, bellows and leaps like 'the little black bull that came down from the mountains.' If, as Benton predicts, he should break his own neck in some of his gambols, the service thereby rendered the country, will be the only one which can place him upon the list of its benefactors. I am glad to perceive that the Whig press in Missouri, with the exception of 'The Republican,' is opposed to this unexampled outrage. Let it be consummated, and a fig for all compromises upon the subject of slavery in the future."

While he was still engaged in painting "Stump Speaking," he was considering the third picture of his election series, and I quote from a letter from Philadelphia, April 10, 1854:

"I have already commenced thinking for another large composition, which I will entitle 'The Verdict of the People.' I intend it to be a representation of the scene that takes place at the close of an exciting political contest, just when the final result of the ballot is proclaimed from the stand of judges. The subject will doubtless strike you as one well calculated to furnish that contrast and variety of expression which confers the chief value upon pictures of this class. I might very properly introduce into it some of those comically long faces which were seen about Fayette when our friend Claib was so genteelly whipped last summer. . . . It is much larger and will contain more striking points than either of its predecessors. I desire it to cap the climax."

These three pictures, "Stump Speaking," "County Election," and "The Verdict of the People" are the canvasses upon which, if preserved, Bingham's fame as a great historical painter will rest, and, I think, securely rest. They are owned by the Mercantile Library Association of St. Louis and are housed in a building by no means fire-proof. They will probably be destroyed as were his great portraits in the capitol in 1911.

The Missouri Legislature of 1855-1856 commissioned Bingham to paint portraits of Washington and Jefferson for the Hall of Representatives. In a letter written by Bingham from Boston (to which place he had gone from Philadelphia), July 29, 1856, I quote the following:

"I have copied Stuart's portraits of Washington and Jefferson, and executed private commissions besides to the amount of four hundred dollars. I found an excellent portrait of Jefferson by Stuart in the possession of ex-Gov. Coles of Philadelphia, who had purchased it at Mrs. Madison's sale to whose order it was originally painted from life. You are likely somewhat acquainted with the history of Gov. Coles. He was the private Sec. of Mr. Madison, and was subsequently appointed by Pres. Monroe Territorial Gov. of Illinois. He is well acquainted with all the prominent men who figured

in the early history of our own *Border Ruffian State*, Barton, Benton, Bates, and others. . . . He insisted upon my occupying a room in his house while executing the copy."

Then later in the same letter:

"I have completed in this city, the head of Washington from the great original by Stuart which hangs in the gallery of the Boston Athenium.

"Here, too, every facility was afforded me in the accomplishment of my wishes. The president of the institution, Mr. Perkins, not only granted permission to copy, but to remove the picture, if I should deem it necessary, to any position most favorable to my purpose. By using a screen, however, I secured an excellent light where it hung, and have completed a copy which has been certified by the President of the Art Commission, the librarian, and also by the Mayor of Boston as excellent and faithful in every particular. The librarian considered it decidedly the best that had ever been taken."

Bingham and his family went to Europe in August, 1856. I quote from a letter written from Philadelphia, August 10, of that year:

"We will leave here on next Wednesday for New York, where we will embark on the Steam Ship *Vigo* direct for Havre. She leaves Aug. 14."

Quoting further from this letter:

"After I complete the portraits for our State Capitol. I have it in contemplation to paint a new series of picture illustrative of 'Squatter Sovereignty' as practically exhibited under the workings of the Kansas Nebraska Bill. I shall commence with the March of the Border Ruffians, and will take pains to give those infamous expeditions of organized rowdyism all those features which truth and justice shall warrant."

Bingham never carried out this plan, greatly to our loss.

Bingham spent several months in Paris, but dissatisfied with conditions there, went to Düsseldorf, Germany, which he describes as "the art center of Europe, where an artist who

sincerely worships truth and nature can find a more congenial atmosphere and obtain more ready facilities in the prosecution of his studies than anywhere else in the world."

In this same letter he refers to a meeting with John Young Mason, our Ambassador to France at the time. He says:

"I called upon our national representative at the court of France just before leaving Paris. Being introduced to him as a Missourian, he thought to compliment me by taking for granted my association with the *border ruffians*, but I promptly denied the connection despite of its honors, and gave him to understand that Greely himself could not hold the conduct of those rascals in greater detestation than I did. This brought up the whole matter of the sectional controversy between the north and south, and as there was no cudgel over my head, or mob at hand to apply the tar and feathers, I felt at liberty to return thrust for thrust, which I did in such manner as to make him appear in the course of half an hour quite willing to drop the subject. He is, as you know, a politician of that ultra southern school who deem the right to own negroes and take them where they please as the only right in the world worth contending for. Notwithstanding our sharp controversy, I was very well pleased with Mr. Mason. He is without doubt an amiable old gentleman but not overburthened with information in regard to the great question now dividing the union."

In his estimate of this gentleman Bingham does not differ widely from Hawthorne, who called Mason "a fat-brained, good-hearted, sensible old man."

In a letter from Düsseldorf, March 8, 1858, Bingham gives an interesting account of his portrait of Jefferson. He says:

"I have the portrait of Jefferson now pretty well advanced, and expect to complete it about the first of April. The attitude in which I have placed him, tho erect, is quite different from that given to the portrait of Washington. He stands in a legislative hall with a roll of paper in his left, and a pen in his right hand, with one foot elevated upon a step of the small platform immediately in front of the speaker's desk. His well-known personal singularity in regard to costume has given me some little advantage in aid of the picturesque.

In conversation with his old and intimate friend, Gov. Coles, I learned that when he did not wear the scarlet vest, he sometimes draped himself in a long, light, reddish-brown frock coat reaching almost to his ankles, and instead of the then common shoe with the silver buckle, he wore an invention of his own which he styled the 'Jefferson shoe,' and which resembled very closely the present gaiters worn by ladies.

"His object in using so much red in his apparel appears to have been to counteract the effect of a similar hue in his hair. Availing myself of these facts of dress, I am enabled to make his portrait, in some respects a complete contrast to that of Washington, and to avoid the repetition in it of anything contained in the latter. I intend it to quite equal the Washington as a work of Art and will be disappointed if both shall not be found to surpass any similar representation of the same personages in any of the states of the Union."

Further along in the letter, Bingham says that he can have frames for these portraits made in Düsseldorf much better and more cheaply than in America. In fact, he says that the difference in cost will pay his expenses to Jefferson City, to see that the pictures are properly hung, and back to Düsseldorf. Bingham came from Düsseldorf to Jefferson City in January, 1859, to superintend the hanging of these pictures.

When the pictures were finally in place in the House of Representatives, they met with such approval that the Legislature gave Bingham a commission to paint a full-length portrait of Clay and an equestrian portrait of Jackson for the senate chamber. This commission Bingham executed in 1860.

The Jackson portrait, the head of which was copied by Bingham from the famous head by Sully, was generally regarded as a fine work of art. It was a splendid likeness and showed the old warrior dressed in full regimentals astride a spirited charger. The whole was the very incarnation of martial spirit and action. Bingham said of it in a letter from Kansas City, September 15, 1860:

"I have just completed the . . . equestrian portrait of Jackson The window of my studio commands the main avenue leading from Kansas City toward New Mexico, through which thousands of horses, oxen and mules are almost daily passing, and I have thus been able to make the Charger of the Old Hero as near perfection as possible But however perfect in symmetry, attitude, and muscular development the horse may be regarded, the spectator will perceive at a glance that the still nobler rider fully maintains his proper preeminence as the chief object of attraction, and that the single spirit of the conqueror of the veterans of Wellington manifests itself in all the subordinate elements of the picture.

"I perceive that you go into Congress as the old Dutch Miller, who took too much toll, went into Heaven, by a 'tam tight squeeze.'"

On January 12, 1861, Bingham wrote my father from Jefferson City, as follows:

".....my portraits of Clay and Jackson were placed side by side in the Hall of Representatives during the night of the 7th, and from all who loved their country, elicited spontaneous tokens of admiration during the celebration of the 8th.

"I was called upon without a moment's preparation to make a speech, and prompted by the surroundings of the occasion, made 'The Union and the Star Spangled Banner' my theme. I was greeted, as it appeared to me, with general applause throughout; but the Lieut. Gov., hearing of my speech (he was not present), came in afterwards and ventured to give myself, Judge Birch, and Judge Orr a lecture. He received a good deal more in return than he bargained for in each case. In fact he is a fool, as *you* would say, a 'damned fool.' A gross misrepresentation of what took place was telegraphed to The Republican, and also appeared next morning in the secession organ here.

"I have just written a long letter to Paschall for publication in The Republican, containing a full exposition of my sentiments and views as they were delivered, and the motives which induced me to give them utterance. I submitted this letter to Gen. Wilson and other discreet friends all of whom highly approved it. It ought to appear in The Republican

of Monday next. I have infuriated all the traitors by boldly avowing my love for my government which they are conspiring to destroy."

In 1861, Bingham was appointed treasurer of the State by Hamilton R. Gamble, provisional governor of Missouri. During Bingham's incumbency as treasurer, General Thomas Ewing, who was in command of the Department of the Border, with headquarters at Kansas City, issued his famous "General Order No. 11," August 25, 1863. Bingham was outraged at the unwarranted severity of this order and went at once to Kansas City and had an interview with Ewing, urging him to rescind it. Ewing refused to do this, and the interview became acrimonious. Bingham left, saying: "If you persist in executing that order, I will make you infamous with pen and brush as far as I am able."

In carrying out this threat, Bingham commenced in 1865 his great canvas, "General Order No. 11." After it was completed in 1868, it was, naturally, assailed from many quarters. Brigadier-General Thomas Ewing, the author of the order, General John M. Schofield, and Senator Vest, these three particularly, were prominent among the critics. According to Bingham, Ewing defended the order "as a necessary war measure," Schofield, "to exonerate his brother officer," and Vest, "to advance his political ambitions." Bingham's answers to these attacks, in the newspapers of that date and elsewhere, were not only a fine vindication of his great picture but gave irrefutable proof of his ability as a controversialist. Bingham's masterly defense of the picture and his scathing denunciation of the author of General Order No. 11 unquestionably defeated Ewing in his race for the governorship of Ohio some years later. A fine steel engraving of this picture was made by John Sartain of Philadelphia in 1872 and the engravings were widely distributed.

Time mollifies the passions and prejudices of men. In the late 80s, I was in New York City and had a long talk with Ewing in his law office. He cherished no resentment against Bingham, and spoke of him as a man of the highest ideals but with "so little understanding of the necessities of war that before he would commandeer a mule or a load of

corn from a farmer in the line of his march, he would first have to consult the constitution to see that he was within the law."

If I recall correctly, some years later Ewing was run into by a street car in New York City and died shortly after from the effects of his injuries.

In speaking of his portrait of Blair, painted in 1871, (whether the one now hanging in the Mercantile Library or the one burned in the capitol, I do not know), Bingham writes:

"I think it is by far the most striking full-length portrait that I have painted. I have endeavored to give the head all the rugged force which nature has bestowed upon the original, and I have given the figure the bearing and attitude which would mark it as Blair's even if the head were out of sight. You will hardly dislike even the pantaloons which, by letting out a few stitches in some places and taking in a few in others, I place my tailorship on a par with my art."

Referring to the generally corrupt conditions in the country at the close of Grant's second administration, Bingham writes:

"I rejoice that Tilden has been nominated by the St. Louis Convention, not merely because he is a democrat but because he has waged a constant and successful war against his own party in his own state, giving thereby an assurance that if elected to the presidency he will make an equally effective war against official corruption in the nation. It is true that Hancock has no enemies, and that as a soldier he has done a true soldier's duty. But the times require a man who has enemies, a man who is cordially hated by all the scoundrels who infest our public offices and fatten upon public spoils"

In 1876, while Bingham was in Washington looking after Missouri's war claims against the government, he painted a fine portrait of Vinnie Ream, the noted sculptress, a graduate of Christian College, Columbia. This portrait now belongs to General and Mrs. Richard L. Hoxie of Washington, D. C., and they have partially promised me that it will eventually be presented to the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Bingham was not a native Missourian. He was born in the Old Dominion, Augusta county, March 20, 1811, and was brought by his parents at an early day to the Territory of Missouri where he spent his boyhood days in Howard, Cooper, and Saline counties. When a lad of 15, he was apprenticed for a term of years to a cabinet maker, who happened (fortunately for Bingham) to be a Methodist preacher and who taught Bingham much about the Bible and theology, which stood him in good stead in after years. Bingham was an apt pupil, and at the end of his apprenticeship was not only an excellent cabinet maker and woodcarver, but also well versed in the Bible. He frequently preached at the camp meetings common in those days. I have heard him tell the story that on one occasion after he had finished his sermon, one of his auditors came forward and tendered him a silver dollar, saying his sermon was well worth the money. About this date, he studied law for a few months with Washington Adams, later Judge of the Supreme Court of the State. But the siren call of Bingham's first love, Art, was louder than that of the law, the ministry, or the square and chisel, and at the age of 18 or 19 he was painting portraits at \$20 each, frames included. I heard him say that if he could have enough subjects so that some pictures could be drying while he was painting on others, he could average a finished portrait a day. He painted on canvas, heavy paper, linen tablecloths, or walnut or cherry boards; in fact, he painted on almost any materials he could make hold his colors. Bingham was reared in a border territory, on the very frontier of civilization, surrounded by conditions hostile to the development of the esthetic and the beautiful, and yet he founded a distinct School of Art that has no parallel in the history of his times.

That Bingham was an artist of eminent merit, there can be no question. That he was a great portrait painter, no one acquainted with his work will deny. His best portraits will suffer nothing by comparison with those of the best artists of his times and country, though he regarded portraiture as a minor form of art. He was so honest with himself and with his art that he was satisfied if he delineated with life-like exactness the form and features of his subjects. I have heard him

scout the idea that an artist could impart to his portrait the soul of the original. This, he said, no artist had ever done or would ever do. The soul, he claimed, was not a material substance and hence could not be manufactured out of the earthen pigments on the artist's palette. The only concern the artist had with the soul of his subject was to correctly trace upon his canvas every line and shade and feature of the original, and whatever of soul the face of the original possessed would necessarily be accurately reflected on the canvas. Bingham believed with Michael Angelo that "art is the imitation of nature."

Bingham was a most versatile and talented man. To the gentle, delicate, refined attributes of the artist, he joined the strong, robust talents of the statesman and soldier. He was a charming correspondent and writer; yet he could, where a principle was involved, wield a dangerous and vitriolic pen. His character was invulnerable; no weak joint could be found in the armor of his pure and blameless life. And the man who sought a quarrel with Bingham, courted confusion. I think every public man who ever had a controversy with him would have agreed to this; they all emerged from the conflict badly maimed. Bingham was a fine conversationist. It has always been a marvel to me where he got his pure English style and fund of information. The advantages of his early life had been meager indeed, but somehow, somewhere, sometime, he had read widely the best authors.

In personal appearance, Bingham was not a striking figure. Small of stature, 5 feet 8 inches in height, and weighing never more than 150 pounds, of delicate constitution always, there was yet a dynamic quality in the man that distinguished him in any crowd. I think this quality sprang from the fact that he was the very embodiment of moral and physical courage, a "*le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*."

In going through our fine new capitol building in Jefferson City, I note with pride the work being done by the commission appointed by the Governor to decorate its walls. But I am struck by the singular omission, in the decorative scheme, of any reference to Bingham, the oldest and pre-eminently the greatest of Missouri artists, the very father of art in the state.

One or two of his canvases which so graphically portray the political, social, and economic phases of Missouri's history should be placed in the capitol building. Surely, the artist whose brush, up to 1911 when the old capitol burned, had furnished every art decoration for its adornment, should not be thus omitted from and forgotten in the new. Bingham must not be consigned to oblivion.

On Saturday, July 5, 1879, Bingham left Columbia for Kansas City. I drove him and my father to the station and stood with them as they bade each other goodbye. Monday, July 7, a telegram from Kansas City announced his death. I accompanied my father to the funeral and heard him pronounce a touching eulogy on his dead friend.

How shall we appraise Bingham among his contemporaries? He will, I think, rank in history as the most remarkable Missourian of his times. Certainly if I were called upon to name six of the most noted men in the history of the state, near the top of the list, I would place the name of George Caleb Bingham.

MARION COLLEGE AND ITS FOUNDERS

BY F. A. SAMPSON

Rev. Dr. David Nelson, a Presbyterian minister, came to Missouri, from Kentucky, about the year 1829 or 1830, and settled thirteen miles northwest of Palmyra, in Marion county, where the land around and beyond was mostly government land, the location being on the border of the frontier settlements. In early life Dr. Nelson had been an infidel, and connected with the army as a surgeon. Becoming converted, he abandoned military life, and probably with the idea of counteracting his former teaching as an infidel, he became a minister, and labored with zeal and ambition to advance the cause he had formerly opposed. One labor towards this end was the publication of a book of 399 pages, "The cause and the cure of infidelity, including a notice of the author's unbelief and the means of his rescue," copyrighted in 1841, and a second edition later issued by the American Tract Society.

Soon after coming to Missouri he conceived the idea, or more probably fell in with the idea, of establishing a college in that part of Missouri, for the education of young men for the ministry. This was to be conducted on the manual labor plan, money at that time being very scarce, especially in that part of Missouri. Dr. David Clark and William Muldrow, both Presbyterians, were associated with him in the movement, and it is probable that it was William Muldrow who was the originator of the scheme. Muldrow was one of the most remarkable men who ever lived in Missouri; a scheming man, of strong intellect, though uneducated, ever inventing some new project, and often on a stupendous scale, approaching the visionary, but his great energy had overcome many difficulties in other movements. One of his schemes was that of making a very large farm without much outlay, and for this he invented a very large plow to which he attached thirteen yoke of oxen, breaking up the sod for several feet at once, and he soon had in cultivation in one field about 600 acres of land.

The schemes also included several "Cities," among them a new Philadelphia and New York. The latter was in Shelby county forty miles west of Marion City, which was in the river bottom, six miles northeast from Palmyra. Philadelphia was laid out by Muldrow near the upper College, and the city at the lower College was named for Dr. Ely. Marion City was the most exploited of the four, and the least worthy of it, as the location during floods was several feet under water. Plans of all these cities were made showing streets and alleys, blocks and squares, churches, a college or female seminary, an opera house, etc. Hand bills were printed for distribution in the East showing the advantage of Marion City, and maps of all were engraved, that of Marion City being lithographed in colors.

These three men made application to the Sixth General Assembly of Missouri, 1830-1831, for a college charter, which was granted January 15, 1831. The trustees named in the act were David Clark, J. A. Minter, Willis Samuel, John Barr, James Profit, Cyrus C. Ewing, Joseph Lafon, Thos. A. Young, William Muldrow, Walter B. Dimmitt, Wm. J. McElroy, James Spear, together with the President of the College. Dr. Nelson was the first president, and Muldrow was sent East to raise funds for the College, in which he was successful beyond expectation, and on this and other trips obtained funds from philanthropists of the East; and not only funds, but he obtained men of means and of great ability to become professors in the college. Among these were Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles Ely, Rev. James Gallaher and Mr. John McKee of Pittsburg, and all men of large means, and wealthy according to the standard of that day. Dr. Ely brought with him to Marion county about \$100,000, all of which he invested there.

In 1836 the trustees of the college entered a large tract of land; the preparatory or "lower" College was located about twelve miles southwest of the "upper" College, and six miles southwest from Palmyra. Dr. Ely was placed in charge of the lower College. Quite a number of students from Missouri and Illinois attended the colleges, and the prospect of success was good. But the opinions of Dr. Nelson and the college authorities on slavery became known, and made them very

unpopular, and even excited strong animosity against them. The anti-abolition crusade of 1835-36, the dissemination of anti-slavery tracts, the stabbing of Dr. Bosley by Muldrow, and the boldly proclaimed emancipation opinions of Dr. Nelson, all worked against the College. At last a body of pro-slavery men of the county came to and surrounded Dr. Nelson's house, and called him out. He warned them not to enter his dooryard. They informed him that he must immediately leave the county, and this he did, resigning, and removing to Quincy. He was succeeded in the presidency by Rev. Dr. William S. Potts, a prominent Presbyterian minister of St. Louis, in 1835, and the college passed under pro-slavery influences.

The number of students increased, commencements, the organization of Greek letter societies, and other activities of colleges, with lectures by some of the ablest men of the west took place. Additional college buildings were erected, and numerous cottages for the residence of students were built.

An enterprise originated by Muldrow, but approved by all, was to buy several hundred cows and young cattle in the south where they were cheap, and bring them to the college farm, where they could be kept cheaply. This was done in the fall of the year, instead of in the spring; done when no preparation was made for wintering them, and great numbers perished from hunger and exposure, and the scheme was almost a total loss.

The financial troubles of 1837-1840 finally caused the downfall of the college.

Muldrow had become involved in various personal schemes and also others through him. He went East to obtain help for the College, but was unsuccessful, and he who had counted his prospective wealth by the millions was forced to make an assignment for the benefit of his creditors.

The troubles and dissensions extended to the professors and ministers connected with the college, Rev. James Gallaher being the only one who did not become bankrupt. In 1842 judgment was obtained against the college, and it was sold. The Masonic Grand Lodge of the State became the owner of the buildings and of 800 acres near Philadelphia, and 470

acres twelve miles southwest from Palmyra, and in April, 1844, it organized a Masonic College. Worthington Smith was its first president but the property was finally sold, and the Masonic College moved to Lexington, Missouri.

Among the schemes of Muldrow was a railroad, and the first railroad ever surveyed and graded in Missouri was begun. It started from Marion City, ran westwardly through Railroad street to Philadelphia, with a branch to Palmyra and Ely City, and to New York in Shelby county, and was planned even to the Pacific Coast. When these "steam cars" were scarcely understood Muldrow predicted that a citizen of Marion county might step upon a car at Palmyra on Monday morning, and wash his feet in the Pacific Ocean the following Saturday evening. Work was actually commenced, but soon the population learned that the men who were going to bring such great prosperity to them were anti-slavery, and the railroad scheme came to an end.

GENERAL JOHN B. CLARK

BY C. H. MAGEE

I was greatly interested in reading the article "Reminiscences of General John B. Clark," by Colonel W. D. Vandiver, in the January number of *"The Missouri Historical Review."* The circumstances are set forth so entertainingly that one is reminded of Parton, or Boswell, or even Plutarch.

"A Birthday Case" especially drew my attention from the fact that the writer is the youngest son of the Perry McGhee (Oliver Perry Magee) mentioned.

My father was born in Madison county, Kentucky, in 1813. Grandfather emigrated to Missouri in 1818, settling on a farm near Rocheport, Boone county. Some years later he removed to Macon county, settling on a tract of land three miles south of what is now Bevier. Here father grew to manhood and married.

In 1846 he went to the Mexican war, Sterling Price being his colonel and Hancock Jackson his captain. He returned from the war in the summer of 1848. On the 10th of December the tragedy occurred for which he was placed on trial in May, 1849. W. A. Hall was on the bench and Charles H. Hardin, afterward governor of Missouri, was circuit attorney. The jury could not agree on the verdict, so the case came up again for trial at the November term, 1849. Both trials were held at old Bloomington. The latter trial resulted again in a hung jury.

The case was in court until the spring of 1852, when on May 19th my father took a change of venue to Fayette, Howard county, Missouri, the home of General Clark, who during the whole time had been chief counsellor for the defendant. Mother accompanied my father to Fayette and during the trial she was a guest at the hospitable Clark home.

Here the writer, Colonel Vandiver, says, "Clark's only hope was to keep him (Magee) from being tried." In this he is in error. The main obstacle was a man named Stephenson,

whose testimony was a pure fabrication, but who stuck stubbornly to his story. In the cross-examination Clark kept him on the stand for two days giving him a fearful grilling under which he eventually broke down.

The author speaks of General Clark hiring a man to ride over Howard county with a petition and a remonstrance, so that when court convened it was impossible to obtain a jury and the court set the prisoner free, etc.

I herein subjoin the following letter:

COUNTY OF HOWARD
Office of the
CIRCUIT CLERK AND RECORDER
Mrs. Edith Dougherty, Clerk
Fayette, Missouri

February 27, 1926.

Dr. C. H. Magee,
Burlington, Iowa.

Dear Sir:

In regard to the information you were asking for, I find that the case named was tried on June 14th, 1852, and the names of the Jurors were as follows, to-wit: Wm. J. Payne, Jos. Stapleton, Owen Rollins, Peyton L. Hurt, James H. Hughes, Jas. Holtsclaw, Albert Hastings, Floyd Birge, Ruben Proctor, Jno. Beckett, Jas. Maupin, John McDonald, and the Verdict was "Not guilty," which was rendered on June 18, 1852.

Yours truly,
(Signed) MRS. EDITH DOUGHERTY,
Circuit Clerk,
Fayette, Missouri.

One evening at the Clark home, mother related to the General and his wife an incident which occurred at the time she started to the trial. Brother John, in his fourth year, began crying to go along but she soothed him by saying, "John, if you will stop crying and stay at home I'll bring your father back with me." The child at once dried his tears.

When General Clark arose to make his final address, he used the little story with telling effect. He pictured the child up in Macon county relying implicitly on the promise of his mother, stopping in his play to climb the fence and look down the road. This melted the jury, many of them having boys at home. Until his death father would quote from this speech to us boys while at work on the farm.

Mrs. Clark related an anecdote with wifely pride. It was on their wedding day, every preparation was made for the event, but the bridegroom was a little late. After a time he put in his appearance with this apology. He was dressed for the momentous occasion but was urged to come to the court room to make a speech against a criminal. He went before the jury with his wedding suit on, even to his gloves, made a speech for which he received \$300.00, sent the man to the penitentiary, then went on and was happily married.

THE CONTEMPT CASE

This case was tried in Livingston county, and occurred in this way. Two men residing in Sullivan county had a violent falling out. The men were Patrick McIntyre and Enoch B. Morelock. At the same time McIntyre declared he would kill Morelock.

Some days after the men met at a house raising, December 18, 1847. McIntyre shot Morelock and inflicted on him a mortal wound from which he died next day. On December 21, 1847, he was arrested and on January 1, 1848, the grand jury of Sullivan county brought in an indictment for murder in the first degree. He was placed in jail.

Public opinion was entirely against McIntyre so his wife had to fight a battle for him single-handed, but she worked with resolution and judgment. Her first move was to secure the services of General John B. Clark. Early one morning she saddled and mounted a horse and started for his home in Fayette. She got there in due time and engaged him to defend her husband, pledging to pay him \$300.00. With a lighter heart she turned her horse's head back toward Sullivan county to her cabin and children.

To comprehend the determination of that Sullivan county housewife one should look at the map of Missouri. The distance from Milan to Fayette must be one hundred miles or more. It was in the dead of winter and the lone woman must have made a pathetic figure as she traversed the weary miles of that journey across the almost trackless prairies, through sombre forests and over streams destitute of bridges, for this occurred nearly one hundred years ago.

On January 24, 1848, McIntyre took a change of venue to Livingston county and in April, 1848, came to trial. General Clark was on the ground and soon discovered that his client had practically no friends and that something had to be done and at once to divert public opinion. He set about in this way: A jury being impaneled, Clark arose to state the case. He had not talked long until he was in the midst of a fervent plea for his client. Judge Jim Clark, his brother, stopped him, saying, "State your case, General, you can make your plea later." The General stopped for a time but was soon pleading again. The Judge again sternly commanded him to stop his pleading. He did, but resumed it the third time. "Mr. Sheriff," roared the Judge, "lead General Clark to jail." Up jumped the sheriff and shouted, "I'll be — if General Clark ever sees the inside of that jail." By this time the courtroom was in confusion. "Court's adjourned," bellowed the Judge. General Clark had succeeded with his diversion and could say with Mark Antony:

"Well, let it work; mischief thou art afoot,
Take thou what course thou wilt."

The next morning everything was serene. Nothing further was said about jailing the General nor reprimanding the sheriff. The trial moved smoothly and swiftly and the jury brought a verdict of "Not Guilty."

Several determined men had declared they would kill McIntyre if the jury cleared him. This had come to General Clark's ears. No sooner was the verdict announced than Clark locked arms with McIntyre and together they marched three or four times around the courtroom right among the men who had been making the threats.

Mrs. McIntyre then went up to Clark and said, "General Clark, I promised to pay you \$300.00 to defend my husband. You have certainly done your part but I regret to say that after selling almost all we possess and working my fingers to the bone I have raised but \$150.00." Then General Clark said, "Mrs. McIntyre, you are a heroine; meeting you has been a moral uplift to me, so if you are satisfied the \$150.00 will square us."

Such was General Clark. A man devoid of fear, whose soul was full of the milk of human kindness. No wonder his clients all loved him and it is not strange that the writer pens these lines with feelings for his memory akin to worship. He gave without stint of his talent and time in defense of my father when his liberty and life were in the balance, and it was his roof that sheltered mother during the dark, anxious days of the trial at Fayette.

I hope in time to make a pilgrimage to Fayette, Howard county, Missouri, that I may with reverence and gratitude lay a flower on the grave of General John B. Clark.

Commenting on the above communication of Dr. Magee, Colonel Vandiver, under date of April 26, 1926, adds the following:

I am very glad indeed to have the correction made by Dr. Magee, as well as the complimentary reference to my article, which is greatly appreciated. Dr. Magee, as the son of the defendant in the famous Perry Magee murder trial, has of course kept a complete record of the case, while I had gotten it only from the recollections or traditions of the Clark family, the whole case having been completed before I was born. It is evident now that in the family tradition this case had been confused with another one which furnished the basis for the story about "The Birthday Case" in 1846.

In "The Contempt Case," however, I think Dr. Magee may be in error on two points: the location of the trial in Livingston county instead of Chariton and in quoting the words of the sheriff. First, because in the article on "Bench and Bar" in Stevens' *Missouri the Center State*, the late Judge Thos. Shackleford of Glasgow, Mo., a very able and very

accurate lawyer, relates it as occurring in *Chariton County Circuit Court* at a time when he himself was present. Also, in the *History of Northwest Missouri* by Dean Walter Williams the case is located in Chariton county. Secondly, Col. R. C. Clark, son of the old General, not only relates the case as occurring in Chariton county, but states that the sheriff of the county some years afterward repeated the story to him and showed him the place where the old jail formerly stood near the bank of the Chariton river and repeated to him the colloquy that took place between the judge, the attorney, and the sheriff, as stated in my sketch and slightly differing from Dr. Magee's version. But these minor points are of little significance. All four accounts exhibit the notable characteristics of a unique and forceful personality.

In short, while no stenographic record was kept, putting the main facts together from all available sources, it requires but little embellishment to make this the most remarkable case of its kind in the history of Missouri courts, and I am glad that Dr. Magee has directed attention again to the remarkable career of this remarkable man.

THE MOST HISTORIC LOT IN OLD ST. CHARLES

BY BEN L. EMMONS

Tradition tells us that when Louis Blanchette, the founder of St. Charles, on his first trip on the Missouri river in 1762, met Bernard Guillet, a Frenchman and chief of the Dakotas, Blanchette inquired, "What do you call this place?" Guillet replied, "Les Petites Cotes" ("The Little Hills"). The name was suggested, no doubt, from the beautiful hills or bluffs along the western bank of the Missouri river.

On top of these hills a block of ground was laid out by the Spanish authorities, later numbered by the United States survey, City Block No. sixty-seven. This block was located on one of the highest points in old St. Charles and commanded an excellent view of the Missouri river on the east and north and the prairie country on the west. On it was located the old Spanish Fort, a stone building three stories high and thirty feet in diameter, with walls thirty inches thick. It has always been a mystery when and by whom this fort was constructed, but presumably between 1770 and 1776, by French Canadians.

In 1796, at the request of Charles Tayon, commandant of the Post of St. Charles, said block was conceded and granted to Francois Duquette, one of the most influential citizens of St. Charles, by Zenon Trudeau, lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana. In 1798, Duquette leased the land and old fort to Jean Joffre, a native of Bordeaux, France, to be used as a grist mill. Jean Joffre, was, no doubt, a forebear of the great field marshal of France.

After the Louisiana purchase, Duquette, in March, 1804, leased the old fort to the Court of Quarter Sessions of the district of St. Charles for a jail, and it was so used for a number of years.

After the death of Francois Duquette in 1816, to wit: in December, 1817, Judge David Barton, who for a number of years was a resident of St. Charles and one of the first United States senators from Missouri, became the owner of said city block. In the late twenties Joshua Barton, a brother of Judge Barton, was killed in a duel on "Bloody Island" near St. Louis, by Charles Rector, and his body was brought to St. Charles and buried at midnight, in the center of said block. Later it was disinterred and buried in a graveyard, so we have been informed.

In 1833, the old St. Charles College, famous for years as a seat of learning, was organized, with George Collier and David Barton as the moving spirits. By an agreement executed by George Collier, David Barton and Andrew Wilson, Judge Barton donated City Block No. sixty-seven as his share in founding said college. This agreement, a noted historical document, is on file in the Circuit Court. And it was on this block that the first lodge of the college was to be erected. The board of curators of said college, however, concluded that the location was not suitable for a building site, and they directed that said block be sold and the proceeds of sale become a part of the endowment fund of the institution.

About the year 1857, a spirit of civic pride seems to have taken hold of some of the members of the city council of St. Charles, and on January 7, 1857, an ordinance was passed and approved, authorizing the purchase of Block sixty-seven for park purposes. On January 9, 1857, the board of curators of St. Charles College executed a deed to the City of St. Charles, containing the following resolutions, viz.: "Whereas, The Hon. David Barton, (now deceased), in the month of February, A. D. 1833, gave and granted to George Collier and to the Trustees thereafter to be appointed a certain lot of ground now known as Square No. sixty-seven in the City of St. Charles, which gift was made for the sole purpose of establishing, endowing and supporting the St. Charles College, and whereas the said lot of ground by reason of its unimproved condition is unproductive of any revenue to the St. Charles College but on the contrary is a burden in conse-

quence of the taxes to be annually paid thereon. Therefore, Be it ordained by the board of curators of St. Charles College as follows,

"1. That Ludwell E. Powell be and he is hereby appointed agent of the said Board with full power and authority to sell the said square No. sixty-seven to the City of St. Charles for the sum of Fifteen Hundred Dollars, that the President of this Board shall execute a deed with general warranty to the City of St. Charles in the name and in behalf of this Board and shall acknowledge and deliver the same to the said Powell, that the said Powell shall deliver the said deed so made and executed to the Mayor of the City of St. Charles whenever the said Mayor shall deliver to the said Powell for this Board the Bond of the City of St. Charles for the sum of Fifteen Hundred Dollars, payable to the Board of Curators of St. Charles College ten years after date, bearing interest from date at seven per cent per annum, payable semi-annually, with coupons attached for the payment of the said interest, said bond to be signed by the said Mayor, countersigned by the Register of the said City and sealed with the seal of the said City and regularly executed.

"2. The said sum of Fifteen Hundred Dollars is hereby set apart to be added to and inviolably kept as a part of the permanent endowment fund of the St. Charles College in pursuance of the design and wishes of the said David Barton.

"3. All ordinances, orders and resolutions heretofore passed by this Board in relation to said Square No. sixty-seven conflicting with the provisions of this Ordinance are hereby repealed. This Ordinance shall be in force from and after its passage."

On January 7, 1857, the city council of the city of St. Charles passed an ordinance, which was duly approved by the mayor of said city, in words and figures following: "The Mayor is authorized to purchase for and in the name of the City of St. Charles (for the purpose of a park) from the Board of Curators of St. Charles College, Square No. sixty-seven in said City of St. Charles, at Fifteen Hundred Dollars, and issue Bond of said City in payment thereof due in ten years, etc....."

This was an ideal location for a park, and the intention of our civic authorities was, no doubt, to restore and preserve the old fort and erect a suitable monument over the grave of Joshua Barton. Unfortunately, the good intentions of our city fathers fell through. In 1860 a newly elected set of city officials abandoned the project and authorized a sale of said block to one Henry Borgmann, who at once converted it into a brickyard. Hence, in the course of a few years this beautiful hill was destroyed and with it went the old fort and the grave of Barton. Later the old St. Charles College passed out of existence and is now no more.

This historic block is situated on the west side of Second street opposite the west entrance of the highway bridge at St. Charles, and is now occupied by a lumber yard.

THE ARROW ROCK TAVERN

BY SARAH GUITAR

On May 19, 1926, at the little town of Arrow Rock in Saline county, occurred an event which attests the pride and interest of Missourians in their State and in her history—the formal opening and transferring to the State of the historic old Arrow Rock Tavern by the Missouri Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The Tavern, with the furniture, paintings and other relics it contains, has been the property of the State of Missouri since 1923. The work of restoration was undertaken and completed by the State Society of the D. A. R., who on May 19 formally opened and transferred it to the State as an historical museum and inn.

Mrs. William R. Painter, chairman of the Board of Managers for the Old Tavern, made the presentation address and Governor Sam A. Baker accepted the Tavern on behalf of the State. More than 1,500 persons witnessed the opening ceremonies and heard the addresses made by Governor Baker, Mrs. Painter, Mrs. W. W. Graves, chairman of the Finance Committee, Hugh Stephens, chairman of the Restoration Committee, and Roy D. Williams, member of the same Committee.

There is perhaps no building in Missouri around which centers more of the State's history and tradition than about this 96-year-old hostelry at Arrow Rock. Built in 1830 by Judge Joseph Huston, to offer accommodation to all who traveled over the Santa Fe trail, at that time the main highway across the State and to the western country, the old Tavern has sheltered generations of Missourians and has witnessed nearly a century of Missouri's growth and development.

In 1923, through the efforts of the State Society of the D. A. R., the 52nd General Assembly passed an act providing for the purchase by the State of the building and the objects

of historical value it contained. Section 4 of the act provided an appropriation of \$5,000 to be drawn from the general revenue fund of the State for this purpose. By the terms of this law, upon the acquisition of the property by the State, the governor was required to place it by contract in the custody of the Missouri Society of the D. A. R., for "preservation and maintenance in its present condition without cost to the state."¹ The formal dedication of the purchase took place at Arrow Rock on September 28, 1923, when Governor Hyde turned over the key of the Tavern to Mrs. Paul D. Kitt, State Regent of the D. A. R.

After the work of restoration had been carried on for sometime it was found that additional funds would be necessary if the work was to be satisfactorily completed. Accordingly, the 53rd General Assembly, in the general appropriation act approved May 4, 1925, set aside the sum of \$6,000 from the general revenue fund to complete the restoration, provided the D. A. R. would meet this appropriation with an equal amount and would agree to assume the responsibility for "permanently maintaining and conducting the Tavern as a place of historic interest."²

With its customary zeal the D. A. R., through its membership over the State and by donations from interested citizens, raised the necessary \$6,000 to meet the legislative appropriation and the work of restoration was completed. With the \$6,000 appropriated by the State of Missouri, the \$6,000 contributed by eighty-five chapters of the Missouri Society of the D. A. R., and \$6,000 obtained through personal contributions of D. A. R. members and patriotic citizens of the State, the sum expended totals \$20,000. The sum of two thousand dollars must yet be raised to pay off all indebtedness.

The building has been not only repaired and re-inforced in order to preserve it to future generations, but as far as possible its original architecture has been restored. In the century of its use all but two of the seven fire places had been

¹Laws of Missouri, 52nd G. A., 1923, pp. 106-107.

²Laws of Missouri, 53rd G. A., 1925, pp. 26-27.

plastered over, many of the original window frames and sashes had been replaced by more modern ones, and in one or two of the walls doors had been opened where windows had formerly been. The Restoration Committee, under the very able guidance of their architect, Mr. L. Baylor Pendleton of St. Louis, has been most successful in restoring all of these features so that the building now has all the quaintness and charm of its original structure. The seven fire places have been reopened, the windows replaced by frames and sashes of pioneer design, and the narrow winding stairways retained in their original state. So carefully did Mr. Pendleton plan the addition containing the large kitchen, pantries and dining-porch, necessary in the operation of the building as an inn, that nothing of the quaint character of the Tavern has been marred.

Too much credit cannot be given to the Board of Managers and members of the various committees of the D. A. R. in charge of the restoration project, who have worked together with the greatest harmony and good-will, and have personally borne all expenses incurred in connection with committee work.

Mrs. W. W. Graves, in an article on Arrow Rock and the Tavern, published in the *Missouri School Journal* for December, 1923, and reprinted in the *Missouri Historical Review*, January, 1925, tells of the town's beginnings:

"Arrow Rock is one of the most historic spots in all Missouri. It was an Indian town prior to the Revolution and long before St. Louis, St. Charles or Franklin were founded. It was the crossing of two old Indian trails, one of which led to the capital or rendezvous of the Osage Indians near where is now located Papinsville in Bates county, to Arrow Rock, and the other trail on the north side of the Missouri river leading both up and down. While an Indian village it was named by the early French explorers, *Pierce a' Fleche*, meaning arrow rock, it being so marked on D'Anville's map of the Missouri river territory. The Indian tribes from a large territory gathered here to make their flint arrow heads, there being at this place the finest flint outcroppings of any other part of their domain. . . ."

The present town was laid out in 1820 and the Tavern was built ten years later, on the main street of the little village, which was part and parcel of that famous highway known as the Santa Fe Trail. On the roof of the building may still be seen the bell which warned the inhabitants of the town and surrounding country of the approach of Indians. The building is a two-story, sixteen-room brick structure, rectangular in design, with an ell or annex at the back. It was constructed entirely with slave labor, and the bricks of which it is built were made in the town. At the time of its sale to the State the property belonged to Mrs. Nettie M. Dickson and Mrs. Annie Hickerson.

Here, in the days when Missouri was still a frontier state and all the country westward was the mecca for explorers, traders and adventurers, the old Tavern dispensed hospitality to all who traveled across this westward trail. Statesmen, soldiers, trappers, freighters and Indian fighters were the patrons of this old inn. Washington Irving once spent the night here on his travels through Missouri to the West. Thomas H. Benton, in his political campaigns often traveled over the old trail and refreshed his journey here. Kit Carson was once a guest within its walls. Almost every early governor of Missouri was entertained in the old Tavern.

There are many objects here which are reminiscent of the Indian and the pioneer—an old rock plow made by the Indians, Geronimo's feather war-bonnet, Daniel Boone's oxen yoke, and an old crane that once swung its pots in a pioneer fireplace.

In one of the rooms is to be seen the huge four-poster, canopied bed in which Washington once slept at Philadelphia—once the property of Dr. Sappington, the pioneer physician of Saline county. There are also the dueling pistols of Governor M. M. Marmaduke and the musket used by him in the War of 1812. The quaint writing desk of Governor Claiborne F. Jackson, on which he wrote his famous proclamation of June 12, 1861, mobilizing Missouri's 50,000 State troops to defy the federal soldiers, and George C. Bingham's portrait of Jackson are among the objects of historic interest.

To the Daughters of the American Revolution of Missouri belongs the credit for the collecting and arranging of these interesting relics, and to this organization also are the citizens of Missouri chiefly indebted for the restoration of this historic Tavern—a lasting contribution to the fostering of State pride and the perpetuation of the memory of the men and events which made possible the Missouri of the present day.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF DISTINGUISHED MISSOURIANS

BY DANIEL M. GRISSOM

TENTH ARTICLE

CLAIBORNE F. JACKSON

My first meeting with Claiborne F. Jackson was at Boonville in September, 1854, at the State Fair. Agricultural fairs were then in favor all over the land, and as Missouri was a farming state and little else, the legislature had made provision for one to be held every year under state protection. The occasion was a notable one. Boonville had become a famous social centre and a prosperous shipping point—the most important town on the Missouri river. Kansas City did not exist, Leavenworth was a fort in the Indian country and nothing else, and Glasgow, Lexington and St. Joseph, though thriving towns, were inferior to Boonville which, besides being recognized as the leading town in Central Missouri, enjoyed a large and profitable wagon trade with Southwest Missouri, for which region it served as the shipping point. Just north of the river was the richest hemp and tobacco district, with more slaves than in any other equal part of the state. The people of Boonville were famous for their intelligence, good breeding and hospitality, and there were more balls, parties, barbecues, and conventions with the accompanying adjuncts of dancing, speeches, fiddling and feasting to be seen and enjoyed in that charming town than anywhere else west of the Mississippi river.

The fair of 1854 had attracted a large number of public men, county officers, and well-to-do planters with their wives and daughters from Cooper, Boone, Howard, Randolph, Saline, and Lafayette counties, and the streets were thronged with gay and light-hearted people. It was a typical Missouri concourse, the like of which could not have been seen then

and cannot be seen now, anywhere outside the state; and indeed it is no longer to be seen even in the state. For, that was "before the war"—the rosy, sentimental days, before railroad time-tables had been invented to make people precise and pitiless; when the Missouri river was alive with steam-boats, large passenger side-wheelers, crowded with people; and mirth and music, and dancing never ceased night and day from St. Louis to "St. Jo." No brothers' blood by brothers shed had yet reddened the soil of the dear old state on a hundred fields, and the men whose names were to become mighty, a few years later, were living in out-of-the-way corners of the land, obscure and unnoticed.

The crowd that gathered in the amphitheatre at Boonville in those mellow September days of 1854 was just such a crowd as is pictured in Bingham's "County Election," with a good sprinkling of dames and beautiful daughters in brilliant dresses thrown in to give the charm of their presence to the scene. And the distinguished author of that noble picture of a Missouri day and scene that have passed away forever, was there himself. Along with George C. Bingham, were Claiborne F. Jackson, Sterling Price, then governor of Missouri; M. M. Marmaduke, ex-governor, and father of the General John S. Marmaduke who was governor, also, from 1884 to 1887; William F. Switzler, already famous as editor of the *Columbia Statesman*, one of the leading Whig organs of the state; and James S. Rollins of Boone county, rising to the zenith of renown which he reached ten years later. Among others were also William Musgrove, editor of the *Lexington Intelligencer*, a right valiant gentleman and a noble, brilliant and high souled representative of the country journalism of that day; John B. Williams, of Callaway, proprietor of the *Fulton Telegraph*, a quiet steady-going, honorable man; John Provines, of Fulton, then a young writer for the *Telegraph*, who afterwards became one of the most accomplished writers in the state; Wm. H. Lusk, editor of the *Benton organ* at Jefferson City, who afterwards became prominent in the Union army; Joseph L. Stephens, then a young man, and secretary of the Fair Association, and, afterwards a wealthy banker of Boonville and father of Governor Lon V. Stephens;

James L. Minor, of Jefferson City, at that time secretary of state, and orator of the day, for the Fair; J. L. Tracy, a prominent educator and principal of the female academy at Boonville, and afterwards a distinguished newspaper writer in St. Louis; Clark H. Mills, of the *Glasgow Times* and Simpson of the Boonville *Observer*, two other right honorable representatives of Missouri journalism; Col. Joshua B. Brant of St. Louis; Henry Brant, his son, at the time mayor of Boonville; and other citizens of St. Louis who were at the Fair as exhibitors, or guests.

Col. Switzler who, at that day, possessed the familiarity with men and measures in Missouri which he ever since carefully maintained, introduced me to Mr. "Fox Jackson," as we sat at opposite sides of a table in the directors' compartment of the amphitheatre—explaining, at the time, that he was the author of the "Jackson Resolutions" that had so exasperated Colonel Benton, and divided the dominant party in Missouri into Benton and Anti-Benton Democrats. Jackson had never been known, before, as "Fox" Jackson; but Switzler's paper, the *Columbia Statesman*, first applied the name to him in connection with the famous resolutions when they were presented in the legislature by him in 1849, and the Benton organs derisively called him by that name throughout the fierce controversy which the resolutions provoked. When Jackson was nominated for governor in 1860, the "Fox" was dropped and he was called by his opponents "Claib" Jackson through the canvass and to the end of his life. As he appeared at Boonville, he was a plain, gentleman-farmer-looking man, wearing a dry and dusty wig, and a still dustier hat with a broken rim. I saw him a year or two afterward under conditions somewhat amusing. He was state bank commissioner, and was in St. Louis in connection with his official business. While driving in a buggy one day along Third street near Vine, he was run into by a dray, which upset his vehicle and threw him out. His wig fell off, and even his personal friend did not at first recognize him in his bald, shining head. He was greatly exasperated by the accident and vented his wrath at the drayman who, he thought, was responsible for it.

The next time I saw him was on a steamboat with a large crowd of St. Louis people going up to Alton to attend the great, historic debate between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in the year 1859. In that debate, Douglas had placed himself on record as in favor of "squatter sovereignty" in the new territories of Kansas and Nebraska, which meant the right of the people of a territory to prohibit slavery while it was a territory, and before it became a state. This was offensive to the Southern leaders, and Mr. Jackson, who was already looked upon as the coming Democratic candidate for governor of Missouri, was inclined to take the Southern view in opposition to Douglas; and when, in 1860, Douglas and Breckenridge were both Democratic candidates for president, and Jackson the Democratic nominee for governor of Missouri, he would probably have declared for Breckenridge, had not the *Missouri Republican* given him the plain alternative of supporting Douglas on the Baltimore platform, or prosecuting his canvass without its support. He was easily elected over his namesake, Hancock Jackson, nominated by the Breckenridge wing of the party.

Governor Jackson's troubles began as soon as he was inaugurated and multiplied every hour of the short fraction of a term he was permitted to remain in the governor's mansion at the state capital. The State Convention which he proposed and urged, in the expectation that it would lead Missouri in the wake of the seceding Southern states to share their fortunes, took the very opposite direction, and not only held the state in the Union, but deposed him from the executive office; and the camp of state troops bearing his name, which, in an inconceivable miscalculation, he established in St. Louis, to execute his orders in whatever emergency might arise, was captured by a force he had never taken into account.

One of the most ludicrous incidents embellishing in common, the life of Claiborne F. Jackson and of John B. Clark is the duel they did not fight. And that it was not fought is due to General Clark's bad spelling. There had been a great debate between James H. Birch and Owen Rawlings, and in gathering up his papers after it was over, Birch dropped a private letter to himself from Clark in which Clark called

Jackson a "raskal." Somebody picked up the letter, opened and read it, and sent it to Jackson. The future governor of Missouri was not addicted to humor, but fortunately, in this case, instead of getting mad at Clark for calling him a bad name he determined to make sport of him for the way he did it. Besides, this would relieve him of the task of challenging, if it should come to that, and impose it on his enemy. Accordingly, he published the letter, and mercilessly held up the writer to ridicule for his grotesque orthography. Clark responded with a peremptory challenge, which Jackson as promptly accepted, and named rifles at sixty yards, the meeting to take place in the vicinity of Fayette. Clark's second refused the terms, as a duel fought within the state would expose both his principal and himself to the heavy penalties of the Missouri statute. But Clark posted Jackson as a coward—and there the matter ended. There was never much bad blood in it, for the two men afterward were good friends. It is pleasant to reflect that it was the unwarrantable use of K for C that saved both these distinguished men to the state. "Rifles at sixty yards" had a sanguinary sound in those days and that is what it would have come to (perhaps) if General John B. Clark had been trained in a more accurate style of orthography.

LITTLE VISITS WITH LITERARY MISSOURIANS

BY CATHARINE CRANMER

ORRICK JOHNS

A most courteous note, hand-written, came to me from Orrick Johns offering to aid in any way he could to help me get the information about Missouri writers requested of him for The State Historical Society of Missouri. An appointment was at once made by telephone, and the next afternoon I called on him.

I found Mr. Johns living two flights up in one of those engagingly old residences down near Washington Square. South windows let in the spring sunshine and the furnishings were in home-like good taste. There was about this apartment a quiet simplicity and charm akin to the delightfully unassuming but charming personality of Mr. Johns himself. In fact, the modesty of this young man about his achievements constituted my chief difficulty in interviewing him.

In the first place, he was greatly surprised to learn that it was about Orrick Johns I had come to gather information rather than about Missouri writers in general who now live in New York. After he had given me a newspaper clipping containing certain biographical data he insisted there was nothing more he could add. Some of my questions he motioned aside, saying they were answered in the clipping.

Perhaps my own impression of him is a good preface to that data. He is a dark-eyed, slender young man probably in his early thirties. A high intellectual forehead and dark wavy hair rather closely cut and pushed back without any noticeable parting or pompadour effect. Classic nose and mouth, a good voice, and a quiet friendly sort of laugh that is accompanied by a free upward tilt of his chin. Slight in build, medium height, decidedly good-looking. Charming natural and easy in speech and manner.

Under the caption "Orrick Johns' Work in Fifteen Youthful Years Assumes Many Forms" the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* of January 6, 1924, published an article from which I quote the data referred to by Mr. Johns.

"Orrick Johns, author of 'A Charming Conscience' and other plays, poems and novels, is the son of George S. Johns, editor of the editorial page of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

"He was born in St. Louis and graduated from the University of Missouri in 1909.¹ He attended Washington University where he studied architecture. Later he became dramatic critic and literary reviewer for *Reedy's Mirror*, which by the way was the first paper to publish Edgar Lee Masters' 'Spoon River Anthology.'

"In 1912 Mr. Johns won the national poetry prize (The Lyric Year Prize of \$500) offered by Mitchell Kennerly, the publisher. In 1915 he engaged in advertising work, publishing, however, poetry and occasional stories in various magazines and newspapers. In 1917 his famous 'Asphalt and Other Poems' (Knopf) was published, and 'Black Branches' in 1919 (Pagan Publishing Co.).

"Last year he brought out a novel, 'Blindfold,' which was quite favorably received by critics throughout the country. And now he makes his bow before us as playwright, his first play being 'A Charming Conscience,' Margaret Anglin's well-known success.

"When asked just what method he used in his playwriting, Johns replied: 'I don't know. I just think my characters into different situations, throw them some dialogue, and let them fight it out as best they can.' And this, after all may account for his perfectly natural and unique results....."

"While in St. Louis, Johns was associated with The Players. Was, in fact, one of its founders and served as president for a year. He produced, wrote plays, and acted in its productions given in the Little Theatre of the Artists Guild, and learned not a little both about writing plays and the practical side of the theatre in his work here."

¹Mr. Johns was a student from 1905 to 1908. He was not a graduate.

To my question about what his Missouri environment had meant to him in his development as a poet, Mr. Johns surprised me by replying that he didn't consider himself a poet, but a novelist and playwright.

"I have abandoned poetry as a form," he said, "temporarily, at least. I have written plays and novels since I gave up poetry, and it is in those forms I feel that my real work is to be done."

"But," I protested, "it seems too bad for one who writes charming poetry to abandon that form."

"Well, poetry is an involuntary thing," he said, thoughtfully. "I never produced much of it, and regarded it more of an isolated pleasure than a business. Everything I have written in lyrics that I would care to preserve wouldn't include a large number. And I think poetry is something which one sometimes writes only until a certain vein has been used up. A writer doesn't always find the form that's his until he has tried different ones."

"There's Homer Croy," he said, with a quick sparkle of enthusiasm, "who thought he was a humorist, yet never got over anything really big until he wrote serious things. He was a classmate of mine at the University of Missouri, and I was delighted over his success with his novel last year."

"Your father being a newspaperman," I said, "you doubtless met literary people in your own home and came in touch early with whatever literary traditions were in St. Louis?"

"Yes, my father was a playwright—had a play produced, and later became an editor," he said. "And of course, wherever you are, you get a real literary stimulus from the books you happen to pick up as a child."

"A man in St. Louis who stimulated me greatly was William Vincent Byars. When quite young I remember hearing him recite quotations from the 'Odyssey,' and when I met him fifteen years afterward I was able to repeat them to him. I was profoundly impressed by him."

"And at the State University," he went on, "there was a tradition of Harris Merton Lyon. Though I didn't know him

personally, I came in contact with this tradition and felt its influence. He was, you know, a writer of some remarkable stories.

"There was a very stimulating group of writers in St. Louis, too.

"Just after I was out of college I did dramatic criticism for *Reedy's Mirror*. Reedy was a considerable influence for me, as I think he was for other St. Louis writers. My experience as dramatic critic with him helped me to direct my thought to the theatre. And he also published poems and other contributions of mine in the *Mirror* from time to time. I sent him my first poem at the age of fourteen or fifteen. He by no means published that," with a disparaging smile and a negative nod, "but it attracted his interest and he kept in touch with me."

"Did Missouri give you direct inspiration for any of your poems?" I asked.

"Yes, my best lyrics were nearly all written in Missouri. I think I can say that all of 'Country Rhymes' (Asphalt and Other Poems) belong to the Meramec Valley. My father has a place out there eighteen miles from St. Louis, and my most productive season for lyrics was a summer spent there a few years ago. There was a certain serenity and balance, and I felt so entirely in harmony with my surroundings that my reactions and appreciations found expression in lyrics. Some day I hope to gather those lyrics, and others—some published and some still unpublished—into a single volume."

"Do you feel any farther away from Missouri because of your ten years' residence in New York?" I asked. "That is, is it any less definitely a real locality to you?"

"Oh, no. I have been back on visits from time to time. And as you grow older you appreciate the native country more, and are able to analyze more clearly what you really owe to it."

A moment later he said: "I don't think any writer has really gotten the character of Missouri. It is not strictly middle-western. It is central, and because it is so central, is subtle. Writers have succeeded in getting distinctly southern, or northern, New England or California characteristics, but

Missouri is different. It has a southern tradition, and something of the west, too. Homer Croy got it pretty well, and of course Mark Twain."

"To New Yorkers," I said, "Ohio is the middle west, or perhaps Minnesota or even Illinois, but Missouri seems a vague region to them."

"I think perhaps that is explained in part by the writings of Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis and Carl Sandburg," Mr. Johns suggested. "Anderson's Ohio, Lewis' Minnesota, or Sandburg's Chicago stand for the middle west to people unfamiliar with the entire section."

"It has been suggested to me," I said, "that some of your poems in 'Alphalt and Other Poems' indicate that you might have gone vagabonding among the laboring classes, in somewhat the manner of Vachel Lindsay among country people. May I ask whether you actually did that?"

"Not just that, no; I was rather closely connected with the a'bor movement in New York for several years. Not as a jiner,' but through association with its leaders, including Emma Goldman and others. All of us more or less took pot luck together. We've all had our vagabonding years, I suppose, and been pretty hard up and shared burdens with the man in the street.

"In 1913 I was very close to the labor movement in which Frank Tannenbaum was the leader. He afterwards, you know, served a prison term. He has written some brilliant things."

"It has also been suggested to me," I ventured, "that in your poems 'Bread' and 'Hunger' (Asphalt) you present the point of view of the highly sensitized onlooker rather than that of the working man."

A very good-natured laugh interrupted me here. Mr. Johns shifted just a bit in his roomy wicker chair as if the more to enjoy his laugh, and I sat expectant in mine. He was obviously amused both at the question and at my halting way of putting it. But he disclaimed responsibility.

"The fact is," he said, "a great many laboring men read very deeply and know sociological questions thoroughly.

They are the thinking element of their class, and bring the others to a consciousness of conditions and environment they could not by themselves analyze.

"I think I am more interested in ideas than in types or localities," he added. "I don't feel a special vocation for describing types. True modernism is, to my mind, the getting back the fundamentals which are often overlaid and hidden by the merely interesting things of life. And modernism, in the sense in which I admire it, is always trying to dig out fundamentals from the things that cover them up."

When I rose to leave Mr. Johns seemed still to feel that I must surely have had some other reason for talking to him than merely to learn about himself.

"There are lots of Missouri writers in New York, you know," he offered, as if feeling he hadn't done right to say little of them in our talk. He mentioned Zoe Akins and Sara Teasdale. I told him I had seen them, and some others, including Augustus Thomas, "dean of American playwrights."

"Ah, a delightful man!" he exclaimed, smiling.

"And so is Orrick Johns," was the thought in my mind as he graciously bade me goodbye. "A man gifted, gentle and sincere."

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN MISSOURI

BY THOMAS S. BARCLAY

CHAPTER VI

PARTIES, POLITICS, AND POLITICIANS

"The provisions of the Constitution of 1865 were intended to do their work thoroughly. The disfranchisement provisions were not designed to be permanent. The Constitution itself conferred power on the Legislature to remove them after the first day of January, 1871. But Senator Schurz and his adherents could not wait until 1871 dawned. They must force the question in a differer^t way. They had a purpose in that they forced it that they might destroy the Republican party of Missouri."

Charles D. Drake.

"Whereas, It is understood that the Democratic State Central Committee desire an expression of opinion from the Democratic members of the XXV General Assembly of this State as to the policy of calling a Democratic Convention; therefore be it Resolved, That in our opinion it is inexpedient to call a Democratic State Convention or to nominate candidates for state offices at the ensuing November election."

Democratic Legislative Caucus, 1870.

A disfranchised Democratic politician and former state official, viewing from afar the political situation in Missouri, wrote in 1869, "what the devil is this generally abnormal condition of things, politically, to result in? My opinion is it can't stand at what it is."¹ A satisfactory reply to this inquiry was not forthcoming; indeed, there were few men in Missouri of any party willing even to predict the course of political events during 1870. In the latter months of 1869, the discussion regarding the franchise question had continued

¹B. F. Massey to J. F. Snyder, July 15, 1869, *Snyder Papers*.

but there was no evidence of any great desire on the part either of Democrat or of Radical formally to endorse any specific plan of action. Prosaic politicians of both parties were inclined to regard with disfavor the liberal program; they felt that the discussion was still in the hortatory stage and not to be taken too seriously during the political interlude of 1869-70.

Despite this seeming indifference, when the twenty-fifth General Assembly reconvened for its second session in January, 1870, the liberals were willing to test their strength. The Governor's message testified to the transformation which the State had undergone. "There is," he declared, "no county in the State where organized resistance to the law exists, and where the sheriff can not procure a posse to aid in the enforcement of the laws. The rights of person and property are as secure as in any State of the Union."² On every side there were evidences of the economic integration and the intellectual and spiritual reunion of the State, which confirmed the liberals in their conviction that the political disabilities imposed and made necessary by the war should be abolished by the party which had sponsored and enforced them.³ They, accordingly, manifested their purpose and methods without much reserve.

At the time the Legislature met, there was much uncertainty as to the disposal of the suffrage question by that body. The attitude of the state administration was of some significance. Those who had predicted that McClurg's narrow views of the previous year remained unchanged were surprised at the tone of his message. Without a definite declaration that he favored the removal of disfranchisement, and by a rather singular and circuitous process of reasoning, McClurg intimated that the time was approaching when it would be "safe" to restore the ballot to all male citizens.⁴ He urged that in the abrogation of the oath of loyalty, the procedure of the constitution be followed, which meant that the Legis-

²*Messages and Proclamations*, vol. IV, p. 408.

³There is an admirable statement of this view in Schurz, *Speeches*, vol. II, pp. 8-10.

⁴*Messages and Proclamations*, vol. IV, p. 408.

lature of 1871 would probably decide the question. Such procedure would eliminate the need for any constitutional amendment on the subject. The chief executive believed that the expediency of the removal could best be discussed in the legislative campaign of 1870, with candidates committed for and against the proposal.⁵ Because of possible fear that the fifteenth amendment to the federal constitution would be rejected by the states, McClurg advocated the resubmission of a state amendment empowering the Legislature, after January, 1871, to admit negroes to the suffrage.⁶ The discernible indications of wavering and uncertainty in the message gave credence to the view that McClurg had abandoned the policy of perpetual disfranchisement for the white race,⁷ and assumed a more moderate position.⁸

The governor's ideas were thus exposed to the critical surveillance of the liberal element,⁹ which at once introduced a counter-proposal. The liberals proceeded on the theory that it would be wisest to use the party caucus as an instrumentality for discussion and persuasion; their plans apparently had been formulated and the leaders selected before the Legislature convened. The first step in the unfolding of the liberal plan was to make certain that the Radical majority would be willing to submit a constitutional amendment which would admit to the suffrage all those disqualified. The delicate and somewhat difficult task was assigned to a group of intelligent and adroit men of decidedly liberal tendencies, including J. C. Orrick, the Speaker of the House,¹⁰ Representatives Hays, Hayward, Nalle, and Mullings,¹¹ and Senators Bruere, Blodgett, and Gottschalk.¹²

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 409.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Herald*, Jan. 13, 1870.

⁸*Grand River Republican*, Jan. 13, 1870.

⁹*Democrat*, Jan. 7, 1870. The Liberals early foresaw the danger to the party of a divided vote because of two sets of candidates in each district, respectively favoring or opposing the removal of disfranchisement.

¹⁰*Encyclopedia of Missouri History*, vol. II, pp. 503-04.

¹¹*Democrat*, Jan. 28, 1870.

¹²W. H. Blodgett, *Stone Answered; the Legislature of 1870*, (St. Louis, 1892), p. 24.

During the first weeks of the session, three Radical caucuses were held. At the first of these meetings, there was rather a free and general expression of views concerning the issues of 1870 and the party attitude toward them.¹³ The liberals wisely made no attempt to enforce conformity to their ideas, although Orrick and Hays gave effective endorsement to the newer policies.¹⁴ They did not stress the need for a convention to revise the constitution, to which the rural members were strongly opposed,¹⁵ nor indulge in vehement asseverations regarding the motives of possible opponents within the party.¹⁶ A politician-editor who was observing political events at Jefferson City, wrote that "the caucus developed the fact that there is a strong feeling in favor of what are termed liberal measures—the universal suffrage group will lay aside all party considerations to secure their aims."¹⁷ As a basis for discussion, Orrick offered a resolution that it was expedient to adopt a constitutional amendment enfranchising all adult males.¹⁸ No vote was taken on this proposal. At a second caucus, the entire time and attention were devoted to one question, namely, the submission of a constitutional amendment providing for universal suffrage.¹⁹ With clearness and cogency the issue was debated. The speeches were singularly free from the personal and partisan bitterness of the Schurz-Loan senatorial contest, but nothing new was projected into the discussion. No vote was reached, and the liberals apparently did not desire to force a decision at that time or even later.²⁰

In the interval between the second and third meeting of the Radical caucus, a new element was introduced into the situation by the announcement of the long awaited verdict

¹³*Herald*, Jan. 27, 1870.

¹⁴*Republican*, Jan. 20, 1870.

¹⁵*Grand River Republican*, Jan. 20, 1870; *Memphis Conservative*, Jan. 28, 1870.

¹⁶For Hay's speech, see *Democrat*, Jan. 21, 1870.

¹⁷*Southeast Enterprise*, Jan. 27, 1870.

¹⁸*Republican*, Jan. 20, 1870.

¹⁹*Herald*, Feb. 3, 1870.

²⁰*Democrat*, Jan. 28, 1870.

in the Blair case. On February 1, 1870, it became known that the court was divided four to four in the case;²¹ in such instances the decision of the lower court stands, and thus the validity of the Missouri test oath for voters was upheld.²² The disappointed Democrats, who long had been convinced that the oath would be declared unconstitutional, were non-plussed.²³ "The decision comes down upon us with a crash and is our political doom," wrote a despondent partisan. "We had looked for a return to justice in Missouri but now we know not what deeper degradation this decision may subject us to."²⁴ Meagre satisfaction was derived from drastic criticism of the court and especially of Chief Justice Chase.²⁵ The court's action was significant in that it added another factor to the demoralization of the Democracy of the State and revealed to party members the hard necessity of solving the franchise question without judicial assistance.

Among the Radicals the decision was received with mingled feelings. In general, it was regarded as a complete vindication of Radical policy, and those who believed that the oath of loyalty was a compendium of political infallibility were not predisposed to modify their original view.²⁶ The untoward result of the controversy, however, in no manner diminished the desire of the liberals to urge the adoption of their program.²⁷ They felt that their opponents, whether Radical or Democrat, could no longer charge that the liberalization of policy was due solely to the exigencies of politics. They believed that it remained for the party which had adopted the disqualifications voluntarily and generously to repeal them.²⁸

²¹*Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1870.

²²Warren, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 232. It was alleged that Chase gave his vote in favor of the constitutionality of the oath of loyalty and thus saved it from overthrow.

²³*Statesman*, Feb. 7, 1870.

²⁴*Lincoln Herald*, Feb. 3, 1870.

²⁵*Boone County Journal*, Feb. 11, 1870.

²⁶*Democrat*, Feb. 1, 1870.

²⁷*Excelsior*, Feb. 12, 1870.

²⁸*Democrat*, Feb. 2, 1870.

When the decision was made known, another factor had entered into the general situation, with important results. Before February 2, 1870, twenty-five legislatures had ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, and it was regarded as certain that the proposal would receive in the immediate future the sanction of three-fourths of the States.²⁹ With this troublesome issue settled, a good many Radicals were inclined to regard with favor the restoration of the ballot to the white race.³⁰

A final party caucus was held the day following the announcement of the test oath decision. Fully three-fourths of the Radicals in the Legislature were present, and the lieutenant-governor, Stanard, a pronounced liberal, presided.³¹ Orrick presented in complete form a resolution which embodied the policy of his group. It was a carefully worded statement, positive enough to satisfy the liberals and not too drastic to alienate the extremists. The resolution declared:

"That it is expedient and promotive of the best interests of the party that an amendment to the constitution enfranchising those who are now deprived of the right of suffrage, on account of race or color or their connection with the late rebellion, be submitted to the people to be voted upon at the next general election."³²

The proceedings of the meeting were harmonious,³³ due primarily, no doubt, to the absence of those who were entirely unwilling to contemplate any change in Radical policy. The majority of the caucus favored the principle embodied in the resolution, but they wisely made no attempt to force through without debate its adoption. After a full discussion, in which there was not much indication of the sharp division and enmity which were so soon to characterize Radical meetings,³⁴ the proposal carried by a vote of fifty-one to

²⁹This occurred during February, and the amendment was proclaimed in effect on March 30, 1870, Dunning, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

³⁰For the political aspects of this situation, see *supra*, pp. 537-539.

³¹*Tribune*, Feb. 9, 1870.

³²*Republican*, Feb. 3, 1870.

³³*Democrat*, Feb. 4, 1870.

³⁴For a summary of the views presented, see *Tribune*, Feb. 9, 1870.

twenty-two,³⁵ although it was regarded by some merely as an expression of opinion which subsequent events might render nugatory.³⁶ An analysis of the opposition vote revealed clearly the fact that the majority of the twenty-two represented the border counties of Missouri.³⁷ Among them were certain followers of Drake who voted unanimously against the Orrick resolution.³⁸ They and the twenty-six absentees³⁹ had refused to endorse the alluring program of the liberals and had maintained "the stern fidelity of the country Radicals against the adroit expedients of the St. Louis schemers."⁴⁰

The endorsement of the principles contained in the resolution was of distinct encouragement to the liberals. They entered without delay upon the task of guiding through the Legislature concurrent resolutions designed to initiate the changes sanctioned by the caucus.⁴¹ On February 18, Bruere, a German liberal, introduced in the Senate a concurrent resolution which had been prepared by the Judiciary committee of that body,⁴² but had been held in abeyance pending the decision of the caucus.⁴³

Having placed before the Senate in concrete form the proposition to remove by constitutional amendment all disqualifications for voting on account of race and color, or on account of past acts of disloyalty, the liberals promptly proceeded so to widen the scope of their program as to include the abrogation of the oath of loyalty for jurors, office holders, and for directors, teachers, and professors.⁴⁴ As the test oath for the other professional classes had been de-

³⁵*Herald*, Feb. 10, 1870.

³⁶*Southeast Enterprise*, Feb. 10, 1870.

³⁷These counties included Adair, Dallas, Gentry, Nodaway, Grundy, Holt, Harrison, Ozark, Lawrence, Morgan, Laclede, Greene, and Texas.

³⁸*Liberty Tribune*, Feb. 11, 1870.

³⁹*Republican*, Feb. 23, 1870.

⁴⁰*Jefferson City Times*, Jan. 14, 1870.

⁴¹By the provisions of the constitution, the Legislature was authorized, by concurrent resolution, to submit to the electorate amendments to the fundamental law; see Art. XII, sec. 2.

⁴²Blodgett, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁴³*Tribune*, Feb. 2, 1870.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, Feb. 23, 1870.

clared unconstitutional in the Cummings case, the ratification of the amendments of 1870 would mark the formal ending of those conspicuous features of Radical policy of the years 1865-70. Several days later, the Senate gave its approval to the measures.⁴⁵ Of the twenty-five affirmative votes for the resolution submitting the amendment to abolish the oath of loyalty, nineteen, or one more than was necessary to adopt it, were cast by Radicals.⁴⁶ Only five votes were in the negative.⁴⁷ In their final form, the resolutions included three separate, yet related, projects. First, the oath of loyalty for voters with all of its complicated and comprehensive features was eliminated.⁴⁸ The suffrage was conferred on every male citizen of the United States over twenty-one and on aliens who had declared their intention of citizenship. Second the oath of loyalty for jurors, the non-enforcement of which had become notorious, was rescinded.⁴⁹ Third, the test oath as a qualification for office holding and for corporate and educational activity was likewise repealed.⁵⁰

In the House, the liberals had gone steadily forward with their program. The committee on constitutional amendments had been so constituted by Speaker Orrick as to insure a strong influence favorable to the resolutions,⁵¹ while on the floor Harper and Hays,⁵² assisted by Joseph Pulitzer, the youngest member of the House and a reporter for the *Westliche Post*, lent effective aid.⁵³ Several weeks subsequent to the action of the Senate, the lower branch in each instance

⁴⁵*Senate Journal*, 1870, pp. 368, 378-79.

⁴⁶*Grand River Republican*, March 3, 1870.

⁴⁷*Senate Journal*, 1870, p. 368. The other two resolutions were easily carried, *ibid.*, pp. 378-79.

⁴⁸*Laws of Missouri*, 1870, p. 503. A simple declaratory statement to support the constitution of the United States and of the state of Missouri was substituted, *ibid.*, p. 504.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 502.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 504-05.

⁵¹*Encyclopedia History of Missouri*, vol. V, p. 504.

⁵²*Herald*, March 10, 1870.

⁵³D. C. Seltz, *Joseph Pulitzer, His Life and Letters*, (New York, 1924), pp. 62-63.

by a large majority approved the concurrent resolutions.⁵⁴ The scattered and ineffective opposition came chiefly from the southwest.⁵⁵

The first step in the liberalization program had been achieved with little difficulty and there seemed to be some justification for the elation of the liberal element.⁵⁶ The general tone of Radical opinion in many sections of the State was clearly favorable to the legislative proposals.⁵⁷ During the spring of 1870, the situation continued relatively promising and earlier fear of organized opposition was somewhat dispelled.⁵⁸ The advocates of liberalism were hardly so naive as to believe that an affirmative vote either in a party caucus on in the Legislature was a guaranty of adoption. They, therefore, entered upon the task of convincing the Radical voter by argument or by persuasion of the necessity of committing the party, as an organization, to the positive support of the proposed amendments. This was the second step in the evolution of their program; a task to which Grosvenor and his allies bent every energy during the spring and summer of 1870.

As it became increasingly clear that the Radicals faced a possible struggle for the direction of the party policy and for the control of the party machinery, the leaders of the Democracy began to revive their interest and concern in their party's future. Since the defeat of 1868 the state organization had been quiescent. No attempt had been made before the legislative session of 1870 to formulate a policy by which the insignificant Democratic minority in the General Assembly should be guided. Under such circumstances the Democrats in the Legislature developed an attitude of opportunism and began actively to concentrate their attention upon two issues, the proposed amendments to the constitution and the revision of the Registry Act. The activity of the Democrats in the

⁵⁴*House Journal*, 1870, pp. 801-02, 817-20.

⁵⁵*Democrat*, March 16, 1870.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1870.

⁵⁷*Excelsior*, Feb. 5, 1870; *Herald*, March 3, 1870, and articles cited.

⁵⁸*Democrat*, April 15, May 4, 1870; *Grand River Republican*, Feb. 17, 1870; *Sedalia Times*, March 3, 1870.

Legislature did not meet with unanimous approval. Confronted by the decision in the Blair case and by the unwelcome certainty of negro suffrage through the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, a good many Democrats had adopted a position of contemptuous reserve and indecision in regard to all political affairs. They desired to withhold both moral and material support from the Radical proposals, and to maintain a suspicious neutrality in the pending contest among their rivals.⁵⁹

But other and wiser counsels prevailed. A Democratic caucus held after the Radicals had endorsed the submission of the universal suffrage amendment, agreed unanimously to support it.⁶⁰ The inclusion in one amendment both of white and of negro suffrage was severely criticised by many Democrats.⁶¹ Those who took a more rational view of the situation, although realizing that the party was placed in an awkward predicament, agreed that "on the whole, the amendments proposed are quite as fair as we have a right to expect under the circumstances."⁶² Later attempts made to change the original decision proved unsuccessful, and, on their final passage by the Legislature, the concurrent resolutions received the support of the Democrats of both houses.⁶³ As the Radicals had a sufficient majority to pass them without Democratic assistance, they showed little interest in their opponents' attitude, save the satisfaction derived from the dilemma which the support of the "double-barrelled amendment" created.

Another prolific source of Democrat dissatisfaction was the situation concerning registration. The Democrats believed, and with reason, that the liberal program fell far short

⁵⁹For typical argument against this policy, see *Lincoln Herald*, March 24, 1870.

⁶⁰*Macon Argus*, Feb. 16, 1870. The resolution read, "That it is the purpose of this caucus to support such propositions to amend the constitution as are intended to enfranchise those citizens of this State now disfranchised from the privilege of suffrage." *Tribune*, Feb. 9, 1870.

⁶¹*Republican*, Feb. 14, 25, 1870. They believed that negro suffrage and white suffrage should be considered as separate issues and resented being forced to vote for the former in order to secure the latter.

⁶²*Sedalia Democrat*, Feb. 24, 1870.

⁶³*Republican*, March 4, 1870.

of completion because of its failure to include a drastic revision, or total repeal, of the registry system.⁶⁴ Early in the session the Democratic minority in both houses assumed the offensive in a movement to modify the law chiefly through the decentralization of its administrative machinery.⁶⁵ The Democrats apparently had some reason to hope for liberal support in their efforts, because the membership of the Joint Committee on Registration included men of moderate views.⁶⁶

Nor were they disappointed, for the committee, shortly before adjournment, reported favorably to the House a bill materially altering in important particulars the existing law.⁶⁷ By the terms of the amended statute, the registrars were prevented from excluding applicants because of their own knowledge or suspicion; it was further provided that no person should be denied registration unless some evidence should be produced against him, with an opportunity for a hearing before a properly constituted judicial tribunal.⁶⁸ But the Radical majority was totally unwilling to accept the report, and remained impervious to all arguments favoring its passage.⁶⁹ The House did give its approval to some minor modifications of the law,⁷⁰ the chief ones of which authorized negro registration, and forbade all registry officials from becoming candidates for any elective office.⁷¹ But the arbitrary and irresponsible power of the registrars remained unchanged. When the proponents of the committee's measure realized that it had absolutely no chance of passage, they lost interest, and allowed it to be defeated by default.⁷²

The attitude and action of the Senate were equally disappointing. The House bill reached the Senate only an hour or so before adjournment, and all Democratic efforts to amend

⁶⁴"The amendment provides no remedy for the manifold iniquities of the registry system," *Republican*, Feb. 14, 1870.

⁶⁵*Senate Journal*, 1870, p. 59; *House Journal*, 1870, pp. 50-51.

⁶⁶Notably, Caldwell and Bruere.

⁶⁷*Tribune*, March 23, 1870.

⁶⁸*Statesman*, March 11, 25, 1870.

⁶⁹*Republican*, March 22, 1870. A party caucus had decided to reject all proposals modifying the law.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, March 24, 1870.

⁷¹*Laws of Missouri*, 1870, p. 112.

⁷²*Republican*, March 23, 1870.

it were doomed to failure.⁷³ The proposed amendments of Senator Birch protecting an applicant from an arbitrary abuse of power by registration officials were defeated.⁷⁴ James S. Rollins proclaimed with eloquence that the registration system as constituted placed the political power of the State in the hands of thirty-four men.⁷⁵ "My own district," he declared,⁷⁶ "contains ten thousand free white male citizens. Only fifteen hundred of these were allowed to register at the last election, and I state as a man of honor that, under the most rigid construction of that law, six thousand of that number should have been allowed to vote."⁷⁷ In the face of the large Radical majority, discussion and argument proved useless.⁷⁸ The bill was passed by a vote of twenty to seven,⁷⁹ thus insuring for another general election the same electoral machinery which in 1866 and in 1868 had proved so glaringly efficient.

The debate over registration revealed no very serious differences between liberal and extremist. The liberals were quite content to be inconsistent. Both elements were determined to enter the campaign with all the advantages which the process gave to the party; the question of future changes must await subsequent developments.⁸⁰ The open and unmistakable attitude of the Radicals further convinced the Democratic leaders of the futility of their party's position. The Democrats felt that there was much justification for their view that registration which, in theory, was preliminary and incidental to voting had become, in practice, by far the more

⁷³*Tribune*, March 30, 1870.

⁷⁴*Senate Journal*, 1870, p. 690-91.

⁷⁵*Tribune*, March 30, 1870. The decision in the Blair case made it inadvisable to take the oath fraudulently because of the danger of conviction of perjury. The "swear and vote" idea therefore lost all its appeal.

⁷⁶Consisting of Audrain, Boone, and Callaway counties.

⁷⁷*Tribune*, March 30, 1870.

⁷⁸The conduct of the majority was described as "an absolute, peremptory, and contemptuous refusal to amend the registry law," *Republican*, May 20, 1870.

⁷⁹*Senate Journal*, 1870, pp. 691-92.

⁸⁰"A change in the registry law might possibly give the result (election of 1870) the appearance of a Radical defeat. It might put it in the power of the Democrats to elect members of the Legislature in undue number. We do not propose to run any such risk or give a beaten foe any such chance," *Democrat*, March 25, 1870.

important of the two functions. The so-called right of suffrage, in many instances, was not in any sense a "right" but a sufferance withheld or granted at the discretion of thirty-four registration officials.⁸¹

The curt refusal of the Radicals materially to change the system of registration, and the manifestations that the proscriptive spirit still prevailed, terminated abruptly the scant hopes of the Democrats. The question of the future of the Democracy had already been under discussion for several months, with no satisfactory result, but during the spring of 1870 a new policy was formulated which was to have far-reaching consequences. By that time it had become painfully and continuously manifest that the Democratic party had indeed reached its nadir. The failure of the Conservative Union movement in 1866 had shown conclusively the difficulties of coalitions; the aggressive efforts of the reorganized Democracy in 1868 had been almost as futile. The future appeared equally depressing; now that the validity of the test oath for voters had been upheld and the registry law unchanged. To enter into another state contest with the Radicals would be at its best a platonic demonstration, and, at its worst, a further demoralization of the Democracy. During the early months of 1870, the unmistakable signs of Radical dissent gave additional support to the view that the best Democratic policy would be one of masterful inactivity.

Chief among those to whom this idea appealed with compelling force was William Hyde, the editor of the *Missouri Republican*, who, by 1870, had become an earnest advocate of the non-resistance policy.⁸² Hyde had early enlisted in the support of his views W. H. Swift, former editor of another St. Louis Democratic newspaper, the *Dispatch*, and secretary of the Democratic State Central Committee, together with an astute local politician, Henry C. Brockmeyer.⁸³ Swift had

⁸¹*Republican*, March 26, 1870.

⁸²*Encyclopedia History of Missouri*, vol. III, p. 342. The owners of the *Republican*, John and George Knapp, had been early committed to Hyde's policy, Scharf, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 918.

⁸³Stevens, *History of Missouri*, vol. I, p. 643.

keen political intelligence, and was well and favorably known to the political and commercial interests of the State.⁸⁴ In the formulation of their plans, Hyde and his associates displayed both caution and finesse. They realized the necessity of committing to their ideas those in control of the party machinery as well as certain of the recognized party leaders. To throw open for discussion by the rank and file an important question of party policy, without first having submitted it to the analysis and criticism of the organization, seemed to them dangerous.

After some consultation, therefore, with the chairman of the state central committee, A. H. Buckner, and others, they prevailed upon him to call a secret meeting of that organization in St. Louis,⁸⁵ for the purpose of securing a definite commitment from its members.⁸⁶ The advocates of the non-resistance policy were careful to see that resolutions were prepared but kept secret, binding the committee not to call a state convention in 1870.⁸⁷ When these resolutions were presented to the members it was evident that they would be opposed, but James Shields, prominent in party councils, promptly moved their adoption without debate, and the opposition was powerless to prevent it. While the action of the committee seemed hasty, it was achieved only after careful reflection and consultation with leading Democrats, whose attachment and loyalty to the party organization were unquestioned.⁸⁸ It required considerable tact on the part of Hyde and Swift, and considerable forbearance on the part of those who opposed them, to bring to such a successful conclusion these earlier negotiations. The committee had agreed that the time was most inopportune for a public announcement of its important decision; it seemed the better part of wisdom not further to offend the susceptibilities of those

⁸⁴James Cox, *Old and New St. Louis*, (St. Louis, 1894), p. 482.

⁸⁵Stevens, *St. Louis: The Fourth City*, vol. II, p. 590.

⁸⁶This meeting was apparently held late in January, 1870.

⁸⁷Stevens, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 590.

⁸⁸*Address of Democratic State Central Committee*, (St. Louis, 1872), p. 1.

Democrats who were by no means convinced that the passive, or as it was soon to be called in popular parlance, the "possum policy," was desirable.⁸⁹

Accordingly, indirect and circuituous methods were devised to promote support for the idea of the withdrawal of the Democracy as a positive factor in the campaign of 1870. Certain prominent party journals began to dilate upon the necessity of inactivity, and to adduce in the support of their contentions evidence of a most uniform character.⁹⁰ Concrete illustration of the depressing condition of affairs was given at the annual meeting of the Democrats in St. Louis, on February 22. The attendance at this gathering was meagre, with many leaders ostentatiously shunning it.⁹¹ The significant feature was the passage of a resolution declaring the inexpediency of calling a state convention for 1870.⁹²

During the closing weeks of the legislative session, the passive policy received further astute publicity. The Democratic members of the general assembly were requested by the State Central Committee to give an expression of their views as to the proper policy to be pursued in the approaching campaign.⁹³ There was a prompt compliance to this request, and a Democratic caucus, held on March 18, declared that it would be inexpedient to call a state convention or to nominate

⁸⁹"This State, it must be remembered, is the birthplace of the 'possum; it is his home, his abiding place, his habitat," from clipping in *Grosvenor Papers*.

⁹⁰The following are typical examples:

"The Democratic party, powerless in itself, knows not where to look for succor. . . . To our mind, it is very doubtful if the Democratic party of Missouri will go into another election at all," *Republican*, Feb. 9, 1870; "Duty and interest alike prompt us to do nothing at all. Unless the registry laws are amended an election is something worse than a disgraceful farce," *Tribune*, Feb. 23, 1870;

"Democrats of Missouri! Under the circumstances, what is your duty? To us it is plain: Two words express it—Do Nothing. Let the whole thing go by default. Make no nominations this year for any office," *Lexington Caucasian*; "Riveted as the chains are upon the disfranchised people of Missouri, it is not only the duty of the Democratic party; it is policy, to take no part as a political organization in any election," *Liberty Tribune*, March 4, 1870.

⁹¹*Democrat*, Feb. 23, 1870.

⁹²*Ibid.*

⁹³*Republican*, March 21, 1870.

a state ticket.⁹⁴ The resolution was so stated as to permit the nomination of candidates for Congress and for the Legislature.⁹⁵

The discussion among the members of the Legislature had shown clearly that their decision was based on two considerations. They realized, first, that the Radicals had no intention of modifying, either in spirit or in letter, the registration process. It seemed purposeless and futile, therefore, to enter a campaign doomed in advance to failure.⁹⁶ Secondly, a somewhat sharp distinction was drawn between the state, and the various district, campaigns; there was practical unanimity that the Democratic party should maintain in each electoral unit of Missouri its organization and independence.⁹⁷ The fears of anxious Democrats that the party faced a virtual dissolution were thus partially set at rest.⁹⁸

The definite announcement of the decision of the caucus was received by the rank and file of the party with mingled feelings. There was certainly neither clamorous conformity nor drastic disagreement with the action taken. Those of Whig antecedents were inclined to be either hostile or sceptical in regard to the non-resistance policy.⁹⁹ Some professed to believe that the petty tyranny and exasperating partisanship of the Radicals in previous campaigns would not be repeated in the election of 1870; an opinion which was supported by very uncertain evidence.¹⁰⁰ Certain Democrats, while not actively opposed, felt that the consideration of the entire

⁹⁴*Sedalia Democrat*, March 24, 1870.

⁹⁵The resolution was: "Whereas, It is understood that the Democratic State Central Committee desire an expression of opinion from the Democratic members of the XXV General Assembly of this State, as to the policy of calling a Democratic Convention; therefore be it

Resolved, That in our opinion it is inexpedient to call a Democratic State Convention or to nominate candidates for State offices at the ensuing November election," in *Statesman*, March 25, 1870.

⁹⁶"Ought we require men like Phelps, Blair, Colman, as in 1868, to forego their leisure and sacrifice their time, labor, and money in making a canvass wherein the only chance of success lies in the contingency whether the Radicals will refuse or neglect to employ their power to make the result just what they please," *Republican*, March 21, 1870.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*

⁹⁸*Weston Landmark*, March 24, 1870.

⁹⁹*Statesman*, March 25, 1870.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*

question had been scanty and superficial. They denied that it was within the purview either of the central committee or the legislative caucus to commit the party to non-participation in the pending state election, and contended that a state convention was the only body so constituted as properly to decide the issue.¹⁰¹ Of the attitude of the party leaders, little of a definite character was known. Most of them maintained a discreet silence, although there was not much doubt that they endorsed the "'possum policy,"¹⁰² even though many of them regarded it as an unpleasant necessity thrust upon them by fate.

The advocates of the plan, who apparently lacked any sentimental penchant for the party name, continued to press their ideas, with scant patience for the unorganized and sporadic expressions of their opponents.¹⁰³ It was claimed that nine-tenths of Missouri Democrats agreed fully that no state convention should be called, and that there was every evidence of a desire to withdraw as a distinct and separate political group in the contest for state offices.¹⁰⁴ Acting in accordance with the view that it would be desirable to have the central committee discuss in an open meeting the question of a state convention, the new chairman, David H. Armstrong, issued a call for a meeting of that organization to be held in St. Louis, April 30, 1870.¹⁰⁵ Armstrong, while personally willing to forego nominations for state offices, believed that the final decision should be made by a convention of the party.¹⁰⁶ This move was endorsed by Hyde and the other leading advocates of the passive policy who had concluded that the verdict of a convention would be more satisfactory than one of a party committee.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰¹*Sedalia Democrat*, April 14, 1870; also, *Lincoln Herald*, March 31, 1870.

¹⁰²For an exception, see letter of J. R. McCormick, Democratic Congressman, to Stillson Hutchins, *Boone County Journal*, April 15, 1870.

¹⁰³The *Republican*, during April and May, 1870, and articles from other papers cited therein give numerous examples.

¹⁰⁴*Republican*, April 18, 1870. The Radicals, however, asserted that the Democrats were divided on the question, *Democrat*, April 30, 1870.

¹⁰⁵*Democrat*, April 18, 1870.

¹⁰⁶*Encyclopedia History of Missouri*, vol. V, p. 175.

¹⁰⁷*Republican*, April 16, 1870.

In the abstract, this idea was no doubt highly commendable but the meeting itself furnished dismal evidence of the "moribund and comatose state of the party."¹⁰⁸ Of the nine members, only two were present although five sent letters explaining their views.¹⁰⁹ These communications disclosed strong opposition to the convention; those members present made quick compliance and issued a brief and informal statement explaining in a summary manner the results of the conference.¹¹⁰ This was to be followed by a formal address of the committee embodying the reasons and justification for its important conclusion.¹¹¹

The action of the committee indicated political foresight. It was known that the Radical state convention would probably meet early in September; there was, accordingly, no necessity for the Democrats to adopt any definite policy until after that time. If it were certain that the Democratic party intended to enter the state campaign with its separate ticket, the divergent groups in the Radical party might find in that situation a reason for compromising their internal disputes. Hence, the members of the committee and their advisers felt that fabian tactics would best serve their purpose; they trusted to political intuition fully as much as to reason, and were confident that by dexterous management the Democracy could play a decisive part in the campaign.

There was also another reason why it would have been unwise for the central committee and a few leaders arbitrarily to dictate to the rank and file. There was some complaint that St. Louis was assuming a disproportionate share in the management of party affairs;¹¹² the leaders there wisely had no desire to accentuate that difficulty. A frank exchange of opinion among rural editors and party workers of high and low degree must therefore be tolerated and perhaps encouraged.

¹⁰⁸*Democrat*, May 2, 1870.

¹⁰⁹*St. Louis Times*, May 1, 1870.

¹¹⁰*Democrat*, May 10, 1870.

¹¹¹*Statesman*, May 27, 1870.

¹¹²*Democrat*, May 10, 1870.

The course of politics during the subsequent four months testified to the acumen of those who shaped Democratic policy. As the summer wore on and as the situation in the ranks of the Radicals became more ominous, the Democrats, for the first time since the war, began to take heart.¹¹³ Some of the early opponents and sceptics who had declared that the party must retain its complete and separate identity, abandoned a position which they themselves now readily admitted was untenable. They were willing to admit the charges of inconsistency in the ready adoption of the passive idea.

The discussion by Democrats in all sections of Missouri continued to center around the extent to which the party should voluntarily withdraw from participation in the election of 1870. By July, 1870, it had become perfectly clear that the great majority of Democrats were agreed that the party should nominate no state ticket but should assume a position of strategic aloofness.¹¹⁴ In certain counties, this view was embodied in formal resolutions passed by county mass meetings;¹¹⁵ in many others local leaders assisted by observant editors, were successful in converting individual Democrats to the "'possum" view. With reference to contests for Congress, the Legislature, and local offices there was a general insistence that the Democracy begin at once the reconstruction of its county and township organizations. Partisan motives furnished the chief, in fact the only, justification for this view. During the summer of 1870, a considerable number of Democrats looked forward with eager confidence to a division in the Radical party. In the event of

¹¹³*Kansas City Times*, June 6, 1870.

¹¹⁴This idea was iterated and reiterated; see, for illustrative statements, *Boone County Journal*, May 5, 19, July 24, 1870; *Republican*, May 11, July 4, 1870; *Saline County Progress*, June 24, 1870; *Statesman*, Aug. 19, 1870; *Liberty Tribune*, July 1, 29, 1870. "Every Democratic member of the last legislature, every member of the State Central Committee, every Democratic politician of influence and standing, and, with few exceptions, the Democratic press of the state, can be counted as opposed to the nomination of a general ticket. There is not a man in this State, pretending to any sagacity, who believes that there is the slightest chance for the election of Democratic state officers this year, under a Radical registration." *Republican*, May 20, 1870.

¹¹⁵A typical resolution read: "That in view of the past experience of the Democratic party of Saline county, and its utter hopelessness of any good resulting from a contest, we declare our unqualified approval of the policy of passive resistance," quoted in *Boone County Journal*, July 7, 1870.

such dissension, they saw a favorable opportunity to hold the balance of power, and perhaps even to gain a working majority in the General Assembly.¹¹⁶ Nor was it forgotten that the Legislature which convened in 1871 could repeal the burdensome test oath provisions of the constitution.¹¹⁷

A few, however, clung with stubborn prejudice to the idea that a state convention was the only body which could properly decide the questions confronting the Democracy. They were not necessarily advocates of entering the contest with a separate ticket for state offices,¹¹⁸ but were opposed to the somewhat informal method of withdrawal at what they regarded as the unauthorized dictation of a few leaders.¹¹⁹ But the efforts to create a party opinion for the convention were uniformly unsuccessful. This led a few observers to lament the indifference of the average Democrat; others ascribed it to a well settled conviction as to the futility of a separate ticket. The early views of the state central committee and of the St. Louis group were strongly reinforced by John S. Phelps, who spoke for a large majority of Democratic leaders. In a widely circulated communication he analyzed admirably the reasons for the passive policy,¹²⁰ and appealed

¹¹⁶It should be noted that the lack of uniform enforcement of the registry law would materially aid the Democrats in individual county elections.

¹¹⁷For discussions of the necessity for legislative campaigns, see *Boone County Journal*, April 29, May 19, 29, July 21, 1870; *Republican*, issues of May and June, 1870; *Liberty Tribune*, July 29, 1870; *Kansas City Times*, June 6, 1870. "There can be no death of the party so long as the county organizations exhibit vitality. The county committees are, in truth, the units of the party constitution, and if these are compactly organized and made ready for action, they can be easily and promptly combined, if necessary, into an effective central power," *Republican*, May 31, 1870.

¹¹⁸A very insignificant minority favored that plan; for examples, see *Lincoln Herald*, May 12, 1870; *Liberty Tribune*, Aug. 19, 1870.

¹¹⁹Some seven journals of influence were loath to abandon the convention idea, but were apparently not desirous of forcing the issue. *Republican*, June 30, 1870; *Sedalia Democrat*, July 14, 1870; *Lincoln County Herald*, July 7, 1870.

¹²⁰Phelps to J. B. Waddell and others, in *Statesman*, Aug. 12, 1870. "If we should have a ticket in the field," he wrote, "the Radical party will bury their dissension on the suffrage question and the tariff until after the election. We shall gain nothing but defeat. If the proposed amendment abolishing the test oath shall fail to be adopted by a vote of the people, yet with the division and dissension of the Radical party we may secure a majority of the Legislature favorable to the repeal of the obnoxious provisions debarring citizens from the right of suffrage. . . . In our portion of the State (southwest) I know no Democrat who desires a state ticket. And I am advised by gentlemen that the same views are entertained by Democrats in other portions of the State."

to the party members to accept without further discussion the recommendations of the practical politicians and their allies, the editors of party journals.

Reassured by the convincing character of the public and private utterances, the Democratic state central committee, on August 13, completed its predetermined program by issuing an Address which in effect announced the official withdrawal of the party in the campaign for state offices.¹²¹ This document lacked the elusive rhetoric of many political manifestoes. It gave due publicity to the situation confronting the Democracy; declared the passive policy was endorsed by the party;¹²² prophesied that no contingency could arise which would render it proper for the Democratic party "to make any alliance, combination, or fusion: whatever with any branch or faction of the Radical party with reference to a General ticket."¹²³ There was no disposition to urge, much less to dictate, the policy in regard to the legislative campaign; it was suggested, however, that the decision be made in accordance with local conditions and with the very definite and practical idea of electing to the General Assembly men, of whatever party designation, pledged to the removal of all disqualifications.¹²⁴

The Address was made public two weeks before the Radical state convention when there were unmistakable signs of Radical dissent. It was received with every manifestation of approval by the St. Louis group.¹²⁵ In the interior of the State, while the endorsement was not so enthusiastic, yet no one could doubt that those who had been most dubious of the policy of inaction accepted it as inevitable.¹²⁶ A good many who regarded with humiliation the retirement of the party found consolation in the belief that it was only tem-

¹²¹Address of the State Central Committee, (St. Louis, 1870), pp. 1-2.

¹²²*Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹²³*Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹²⁵Republican, Aug. 14, 1870.

¹²⁶Statesman, Aug. 19, 1870; Sedalia Democrat, Aug. 18, 1870; Lincoln County Herald, Aug. 25, 1870.

porary, and that a new Democracy strong in purpose, perfect in discipline, and intact in organization would emerge after the transitional period of uncertainty and inaction.

By the time the Democrats had evolved their plan of campaign, it had become very clear that the Radical party had reached a most crucial stage. During the period of five months from the adjournment of the Legislature to the assembling of the state convention, the breach between extremists and liberals continued to widen. In the beginning, the chief difference seemed to revolve around the question of what should be the party attitude with regard to the proposed amendments, but other issues of a more intangible and difficult character made an imposing appearance. On many sides were indications that these party disagreements were a prelude to a political transformation of far-reaching significance.

Long before the convention, the question of the amendments had become merged with several others of equal importance. Superficial observers were no doubt surprised at the intensity of the discussion, but reflecting men were quick to recognize the actual situation. They perceived that the two elements in the Radical party, each distrustful and intolerant of the other, had entered a contest for the control of the party organization and for the direction of the party policy. The question of the removal of the constitutional disqualifications, although ostensibly foremost, was in reality connected with other issues fully as consequential. These included, the control of the governorship and other state offices, the apportionment in the state convention, the tariff, and the real rebuilding of the State in conformity with the principles of peace and conciliation.

The storm which many feared and some hoped was about to break over the party, had long been gathering. Intermittent evidences of the struggle had been manifest in the legislative session of 1866, in the Planters House meeting, in the senatorial election of 1869, and to some extent in

the legislative session of 1870.¹²⁷ The liberal element was distinctly encouraged by the success in securing the submission of the amendments, and was willing further to test its strength in the campaign of 1870. They entered the pre-convention campaign with a firm purpose first to commit the party to the active support of the proposed amendments. The energies of the tireless Grosvenor and others of like views were concentrated upon the laborious task of convincing the Radicals that the endorsement of the propositions was eminently wise and practical.¹²⁸ Those who considered themselves qualified to interpret past election results and to predict the course of future contests were readily able to present ingenious arguments and elusive statistics designed to prove beyond peradventure their several contentions.

There were two important aspects of the amendment question, the political and what might be termed the ethical. Both were systematically and comprehensively agitated by the liberals; the extremists gave chief consideration to the political factors.

In the development of the dogma that the end of disfranchisement would not result in the disappearance of the Radical party, the liberal element was meticulously careful to show that Radical supremacy would not be threatened by the admission to political privileges of the disfranchised classes. The reasoning and statistics exhibited in support of this view were based exclusively on self-interest, and calculated to appeal with logical force to the skeptical. Grosvenor presented with confidence figures which to his supporters were conclusive proof that it was perfectly "safe" to bring to an end all phases of disfranchisement. The total vote in Missouri for president in the election of 1868 had been 145,459.¹²⁹ Grant had received a majority of 25,000,

¹²⁷It should not be forgotten that a considerable and influential group of Radicals had opposed the adoption of the Constitution of 1865, and had remained restive under the extremist domination.

¹²⁸There are endless articles, obviously inspired, and editorials on the subject in all the liberal journals. The best are those in the *Democrat* and in the *St. Joseph Herald*, for June, July, and August, 1870.

¹²⁹Switzler, *Missouri*, p. 297.

while McClurg had defeated Phelps by about 20,000. The liberals estimated that some 25,000 had been disfranchised in 1868; all of whom could be relied upon to support the Democracy.¹³⁰ Excluding the disfranchised, the total voting strength of the State in 1868 was placed at 170,000, and a voting population of 250,000 in 1872 was predicted.¹³¹

As an offset against the material increase in the opposition strength, two factors appeared. The first was the certainty of negro suffrage; the Fifteenth Amendment having been proclaimed in effect on March 30, 1870.¹³² By this act, some 16,000 negroes in Missouri were made eligible to vote.¹³³ That their vote would be solidly in favor of the Radical candidates no liberal seemed to doubt.¹³⁴ In the second place, the claim was made that the party membership would be augmented by the addition each year of some 20,000 immigrants from other states and from abroad; it being gratuitously assumed that they, also, were potential Radicals.¹³⁵ The liberals believed that the normal party vote cast for Grant in 1868 would remain intact; when supplemented by negro and immigrant support the total Radical strength was estimated at about 125,000. Against this impressive total the Democrats could hope to poll only 85,000. It thus became perfectly apparent, to those who accepted the figures, that Radical supremacy could be maintained for many years.

Political expediency was the basis of another contention of the liberals; namely, that it would be decidedly dangerous for the Radical party to enter a state-wide campaign with a division of opinion on the issue of enfranchisement. The official adoption of a neutral, or covertly hostile, attitude to-

¹³⁰*Democrat*, Feb. 17, 1870. The Democrats insisted that from 50,000 to 70,000 were excluded from voting, while a later, and probably more accurate, by Grosvenor placed the number at 35,000.

¹³¹*Ibid.* The election of 1872 was the first in which the whites, if enfranchised, could participate.

¹³²*Dunning*, op. cit., p. 182.

¹³³State Census of 1870, *passim*.

¹³⁴*Democrat*, June 29, 1870; *Excelsior*, April 9, 1870.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, Feb. 17, June 29, 1870. A large number of the immigrants to Missouri between 1865 and 1875 came from states where the Republican tradition was strong.



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ward the amendments in a state platform and by state nominees would, they believed, shift the entire question to the congressional and legislative district campaigns.¹³⁶ In such an eventuality there was grave danger that the party might become so divided and torn by conflicting views that the Democrats would secure control of the Legislature, and proceed promptly to remove the constitutional disqualifications.¹³⁷ The tactics of the Democracy gave every indication that its leaders would be ready to take immediate advantage of such a situation and secure for their party the gratitude and support of thousands of disfranchised whites.

In a series of significant speeches B. Gratz Brown, one of the leading candidates for the nomination for governor, declared in unmistakable terms for the new policy. Before a Radical audience in Jefferson City he announced himself as strongly favoring the equal suffrage of all citizens not convicted of crime, adding that "upon the Radical party devolved the duty to conform your Constitution to the standards of a free Republic. The means are at hand. The instrumentalities are ready for your grasp. The common sense of the commonwealth has come to your rescue. Your Legislature has submitted for your approval amendment and revision of your Constitution which wipe out the disgraceful text which gives the lie to all your heroic efforts."¹³⁸ Other leaders alarmed at the evidences of possible disruption, were insistent that the convention in the name of the party should

¹³⁶It was apparently taken for granted that there would be much discussion during the canvass concerning the suffrage issue.

¹³⁷*Democrat*, June 1, 14, 15, 16, 29, July 14, August 29, 1870. "One of two things must happen; either the convention will endorse the amendments or it will not. If it does not, a thousand difficulties and a vast deal of disorder will arise during the campaign. Can you tell us how a local committee can remain neutral, when the whole state is excited upon the suffrage question and men speak, write, and think nothing else so much. For the amendments can be carried in two ways; by the Radical party or by a division of that party." *Ibid.*, July 13. See also, *Jefferson City Tribune*, March 2, Aug. 24, 1870.

¹³⁸*Lincoln Herald*, June 16, 1870. "Its sentiments were more liberal than were ever before heard on a Radical platform in this city. The defenders of the Drake constitution bitterly denounce the speaker." *Jefferson City Tribune*, June 1, 1870. For later speeches, see *ibid.*, Aug. 14, 1870.

formally approve the amendments.¹³⁹ Fletcher, who had been inactive in politics since the expiration of his term, sponsored the amendments as a party measure.¹⁴⁰ Schurz, several Congressmen, and influential local leaders throughout the State gave a similar endorsement.¹⁴¹

Less tangible, perhaps, but equally important in the evolution of liberalism was the view that the removal of disfranchisement in all of its irritating aspects was a just obligation which the Radical party must fulfill. By 1870, the animosities of the war, so acute in a border community, were rapidly abating. On every side were evidences of the material development of the State and of the economic transformation which it had undergone during the years 1865-70.¹⁴² Social and business ostracism, which had persisted through 1869, had been largely abandoned.¹⁴³

Powerful and well recognized non-political factors stimulated the liberal cause. Business, religious, social, and family relationships had become so favorably adjusted that the dictates both of common sense and of party expediency demanded, they contended, the immediate and complete removal of all political disabilities.¹⁴⁴ The political elimination of large numbers of white tax-payers and their continued exclusion from a voice in the government were to the liberals objectionable from every point of view. From the time of the Planters House conference in 1866, or even before, a latent opinion had existed among certain Radicals that the original reason for the drastic disfranchisement provisions had ceased to have force, save to furnish partisan advantage to those who controlled the party machinery. The adoption

¹³⁹"The amendments we must sustain. The Convention ought to endorse them, and on this ground we should make our fight. This is a State question; an issue in which we have every advantage; a movement which is just, wise, patriotic, in accordance with the general sentiment of the party," A. C. George to Schurz, St. Louis, May 28, 1870, *Schurz Papers*.

¹⁴⁰Fletcher to W. C. Fyan, Washington, June 12, 1870, in *Statesman*, July 19, 1870.

¹⁴¹*Democrat*, June 2, 13, 1870.

¹⁴²For illustrative statistics, see—.

¹⁴³Schurz, *Speeches*, vol. II, pp. 8-11.

¹⁴⁴*Democrat*, June 29, July 4, 7, 11, Aug. 29, 1870; *Lincoln Herald*, June 16, 1870.

of the Fifteenth Amendment confirmed many in their resolute purpose to reverse the policy of retaliation and to mitigate the burdens of the conservative whites. They believed that the policy of proscription had become obsolete and without any real justification. The liberal leaders, therefore, "greeted with gladness this tempting opportunity to wipe out the last remnant of the old animosities which had distracted us, to disarm the change of vindictiveness and of selfish policy * * * to unite the whole people of the State once more in the bonds of equal rights."¹⁴⁶

The development and spread of the liberal doctrines were naturally very distasteful to all of those who, for varied reasons, opposed any change. The superficial harmony in the legislative session of 1870 between the two Radical elements ended abruptly after adjournment. There was little open objection to the submission of the amendments, but concerning the proper policy of the party toward them there appeared a sharp and dangerous divergency of opinion. The danger of allowing the question of enfranchisement to enter into the campaigns for the legislature and for local offices was obvious, however to the extremists, as well as to the liberals. Certain leaders were acutely aware that under that unhappy circumstance the ascendancy of the Radical party, if not its very existence, might be endangered.¹⁴⁶ They apparently approved the plan of referring to the electorate, rather than to the Legislature, the policies embodied in the proposed amendments.¹⁴⁷ They would thus be passed upon finally by an unassailable authority, with less chance of irreparable injury to the party organization.

With the formal submission of the amendments, the orthodox Radicals agreed that the party had done all that could reasonably be expected of it. They were drastically opposed to committing the party to the support of the amendments, and were insistent that a policy of neutrality be

¹⁴⁶Schurz, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁴⁶Drake to J. W. Sutherland, Washington, Feb. 21, 1870, in *Jefferson City Tribune*, March 2, 1870. In this opinion, a majority of the Congressional delegation concurred, *Democrat*, March 4, 1870.

¹⁴⁷*Grand River Republican*, March 31, 1870; *Lancaster Excelsior*, Aug. 20, 1870; *Edina Sentinel*, June 11, 1870.

adopted. It seemed "good politics" not to give any glittering assurances to the disfranchised whites that the Radical party was definitely committed to a startling reversal in its policies of 1865-69.

This was the crux of the difference between liberal and extremist. When the proposed amendments were under consideration in the Senate, a Radical member had frankly declared that he would vote, as a citizen, for or against them in the election as he deemed best and would not consider as binding any party dogma.¹⁴⁸ As other Radicals came to a full realization of what the consequences of enfranchisement might be, they hastily revised their earlier opinions and began openly or surreptitiously to oppose the entire group of proposals. A considerable number of Radical editors, office holders, and local politicians suddenly discovered that the Legislature had neither the authority nor the desire to dictate a platform for the party.¹⁴⁹ During the summer of 1870, their undisguised hostility toward liberalism stimulated the wavering and uncertain likewise to oppose any party endorsement of the amendments.¹⁵⁰ "Prudent Radicals," advised a leader in southwestern Missouri, "who mean that the Democracy shall not rule the State for the next two years, should look the situation squarely in the face and provide against the danger we are invited to embrace."¹⁵¹

To practical politicians interested primarily in the local offices and the local organization, as well as to their most partisan followers, the fear of possible Democratic control was uppermost. In the test oath they had a powerful and effective weapon; one which they were exceedingly loath to relinquish.¹⁵² The possible dangers of enfranchising a

¹⁴⁸*Republican*, Feb. 26, 1870.

¹⁴⁹*Grand River Republican*, May 26, 1870.

¹⁵⁰Federal office holders in Missouri and state administrative officials were early reported as opposing the amendments, *Democrat*, May 10, 1870.

¹⁵¹Havens in *Springfield Patriot*, May 18, 1870.

¹⁵²"That class in Missouri found disfranchisement a very handy contrivance to keep their presumptive opponents away from the polls. Enfranchisement struck at their monopoly; to prevent it was with them a question of personal advantage. They acted on the simple principle that those who would probably vote against them had better not be permitted to vote at all," Schurz, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

large number of potential and bitter political opponents aroused among the border Radicals foreboding and resentment. For weeks prior to the state convention this opposition became more assertive and less willing to accept the ingenious arguments of the liberals. It was evident that there would be formidable opposition to the amendments in the southwest;¹⁵³ in the southeast there was little definite support for them.¹⁵⁴ Through the northern and northwestern sections of the State there was, of course, some difference of opinion as to the proper policy for the approaching campaign, but in general the objectors and objections to enfranchisement as a Radical policy were everywhere conspicuous.¹⁵⁵

Among the extremists there appeared not only profound hostility to the liberal program but intense personal dislike and distrust of the liberal leaders, which the latter fully reciprocated.¹⁵⁶ The experienced and self-confident Governor long had been an object of suspicion to many of the older Radicals, especially to those who lived in the border counties. His intimate connection with the representatives of the St. Louis business and political interests, his part in the senatorial election of 1869, and his tireless advocacy of the liberal policies irritated and alarmed his opponents. Schurz,

¹⁵³Expressions of Radical opinion are found in the *Springfield Patriot*, May-August, 1870; *Hickory County Mirror*, May 25, June 13, 1870; *Lebanon Chronicle*, in *Democrat*, May 10, 1870; *Bolivar Free Press*, in *Jefferson City Tribune*, Aug. 24, 1870. The Congressional Convention in the 4th District adopted a resolution which typified the views of the southwest. "That the question of enfranchising rebels as presented by the proposed suffrage amendment to our state constitution should not be considered a test of fidelity to the Radical party, and we recognize the right of any citizen to act upon it according to the dictates of his own judgment," *Republican*, July 29, 1870.

¹⁵⁴*Southeast Enterprise*, July 10; 1870, *Rolla Express*, April 25, 1870.

¹⁵⁵*Lancaster Excelsior*, June 18, 25, 1870; *Grand River Republican*, May 26, 1870; *Jefferson City Tribune*, Aug. 24, 1870, and articles therein quoted; the *Democrat*, in the issues of July and Aug., 1870, contains numerous expressions of opinion from all sections of Missouri; see also, *LaGrange American*, *Bethany Tribune*, *Edina Sentinel*, *Milan Herald*, in *St. Louis Mail*, April 28, 1870; *Boonville Eagle*, June 18, 1870.

¹⁵⁶"Some persuasive words should be said to promote conciliation and kindness. It is time that personal thrusts among Radicals were stopped. . . . I think you ought to speak publicly, say in a letter to some friend or journal, in favor of the amendments, and the unity, strength, and triumph of the party." A. C. George to Schurz, St. Louis, May 28, 1870, *Schurz Papers*.

too, had incurred their political ill will. Drake and his followers, who regarded him as an interloper and accident in Missouri politics, were convinced that Schurz was refractory to party discipline and a disturbing and uncertain element in the complicated situation. B. Gratz Brown, who, during the summer of 1870, aggressively re-entered the field of active politics as a candidate for governor, likewise had little strength with the organization.

Being totally at variance with the policies of the liberals, the opposition now commenced to attack their motives. It was difficult for astute and domineering local politicians to follow, in a spirit of due submission, the somewhat philosophical and eloquent arguments advanced in behalf of the liberal cause. They preferred to believe that the ideas and methods of the liberal leaders were based, at best, upon inexplicable caprice; at worst, upon a frank desire to defeat the Radical party and give to the revengeful Democrats control of the State.

Although the question of enfranchisement was the central feature of the political situation, there were other issues which tended sharply to divide liberal and extremist. Of these, the question of apportionment in the state convention of 1870 was foremost. Throughout the summer of that year, the tension between the two wings of the Radical party was materially increased by the policy of the state central committee with reference to the constitution of the convention.

The committee, which had been selected in 1868, was controlled by the opponents of the amendments who saw in their direction of the party machinery an opportunity to render effective assistance to their faction.¹⁵⁷ Meeting early in May in St. Louis, the committee designated Jefferson City as the place of the convention, and made provision for the apportionment of delegates. Its deliberations were dominated by the chairman, E. W. Fox, and by the secretary, M. W. Hilton, though a majority of its members fully concurred.

¹⁵⁷Schurz, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 13. A majority of the committee opposed the nomination of Brown for governor and desired the renomination of McCurg, *Republican*, June 17, 1870.

It had been customary for the Radicals so to allocate representation in a state convention that there would be one delegate for every 150 party votes, or fractional part thereof, cast at the preceding election.¹⁵⁸ This plan was followed by the committee, the basis being one delegate for every 150 votes, or fractional part, cast in 1868 for Grant.¹⁵⁹ As the negroes had never voted, the committee had some difficulty in devising a satisfactory plan which would give their prospective allies due recognition. After some discussion, it was agreed that every colored male citizen in Missouri would vote the Radical ticket, and deserved, therefore, to be represented in the convention.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps this serene confidence was justified, but the committee went further in its rather obvious endeavor so to constitute the convention as to insure a defeat of the endorsement of the amendments and of the nomination of B. Gratz Brown.¹⁶¹

Instead of adding the negro male citizens over twenty-one years of age to the aggregate number of Radical voters in each county, the committee decided that the race formed a distinct class, and was entitled to a separate representation. They were, accordingly, awarded one delegate for each 150 male negroes, or fractional part thereof.¹⁶² The full significance of the committee's action was not realized until some weeks after its official pronouncement had been made. It was then subjected to a critical analysis by the restive liberal leaders, who felt that the entire arrangement was a shrewd and unscrupulous manipulation of the mass of enfranchised freedmen.

Liberal spokesmen began to investigate and to expose the operations of the state committee, and to predict with great distinctness the results of the novel system of apportion-

¹⁵⁸*LaGrange American*, June 18, 1868. The unit was the county, with certain exceptions for the city of St. Louis.

¹⁵⁹*Boonville Eagle*, May 28, 1870.

¹⁶⁰*Statesman*, June 16, 1870. The prevailing custom, of course, under the convention system, was to base the apportionment on actual votes cast.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*

¹⁶²*Democrat*, May 13, 1870. The choice of delegates was to be made in the county conventions, *Statesman*, May 20, 1870.

ment.¹⁶³ There was much dissatisfaction at the alleged unfairness of including in the representation of the convention every male negro of voting age, while ignoring some 25,000 white Radicals who had come into Missouri since 1868, as well as a large number of party adherents who had not voted in the election of that year.¹⁶⁴ The state census compiled in 1868 had shown 16,124 adult male negroes in the State;¹⁶⁵ a fairly even distribution of the freedmen throughout the State would have entitled them to approximately 107 delegates.

The difficulty was, of course, that the negro population was so distributed in Missouri that many counties had far fewer than 150 prospective voters of that race; indeed, in numerous instances, there were considerably less than fifty.¹⁶⁶ The liberals feared, and probably justly, that local Radical politicians would secure control of the negroes and use them effectively in what Schurz characterized as "the crusade against the enfranchising amendment and the support of the candidates representing that hostility."¹⁶⁷

The subtle calculations of the extremists were made plain by their opponents. The secretary of the committee, Hilton, who had been instrumental in the formulation of the plan, maintained that every fraction below 150, however small, and whether representing whites or negroes, was entitled to a delegate.¹⁶⁸ He refused to modify his views, and proceeded during July to make up the official roll of the convention. The amazing discrepancies which his opponents revealed furnished rather conclusive evidence of the effectiveness of the scheme in giving over-representation to the freedmen, as a

¹⁶³It should be noted that at the meeting of the committee in May the liberals apparently made no objection to the scheme of apportionment. Grosvenor, who was present, wrote "as to the basis of representation, there was scarcely any difference of opinion," *Democrat*, May 13, 1870. He made no protest against it, *ibid.*, June 20, 1870.

¹⁶⁴*Democrat*, June 16, 1870; *Herald*, June 18, 1870; *Republican*, June 15, 1870; *Lewis County Gazette*, June 8, 1870. The figures are unofficial estimates by leaders of both liberals and Democrats.

¹⁶⁵*Republican*, Feb. 20, 1870.

¹⁶⁶*Boonville Eagle*, July 30, 1870.

¹⁶⁷*Speeches*, vol. II, p. 14. "The object of this maneuver is plain," declared Grosvenor, "it is an attempt to use the negro vote to force upon the Radical party a policy which the white Radicals would condemn," *Democrat*, June 16, 1870.

¹⁶⁸*Democrat*, July 27, 1870.

class, and to the Radical border counties where the principles and the exponents of liberalism were under suspicion.¹⁶⁹ Thus, 1904 Radical white voters, scattered through nine counties, received eighteen delegates, while seventy-two freedmen were awarded nine delegates.¹⁷⁰ Further analysis indicated that in twenty-nine counties in the State 13,508 negroes over twenty-one years of age resided; their representation in the convention would be 104 delegates.¹⁷¹ In the remaining eighty-five counties 2,616 negroes secured eighty-two.¹⁷² To 16,124 persons, who had never voted, were allotted 186 delegates, or one to every eighty-six negroes.¹⁷³ Approximately eighty-five thousand Radicals who voted for Grant had 616 delegates, or one to every 136 actual voters. Representatives of the more populous Radical communities commented without reserve upon the fact that there would

¹⁶⁹The practical operation of the plan in typical border counties was as follows:

County.	Adult white males.	Radical vote, 1868.	Delegates.	Adult negro males.	Delegates.	Total delegates.
Ozark	297	156	2	1	1	3
Pulaski . . .	459	156	2	3	1	3
Dent	600	199	2	5	1	3
Taney	441	204	2	6	1	3
Texas	1,093	217	2	8	1	3
McDonald . .	592	190	2	11	1	3
Webster . . .	1,332	214	2	31	1	3
Wright	802	298	2	5	1	3
Barton	628	270	2	2	1	3

Democrat, Nov. 9, 11, Dec. 25, 1868, July 27, 1870; *Statesman*, Aug. 4, 1870; *State Census*, 1868, *passim*.

¹⁷⁰It should be noted that by the committee's decision the Democratic and "rebel" counties of the state, where the Radical vote was very small, secured a large representation. This was due to the large number of negroes in those localities. For example, Boone, Callaway, Ray, Lafayette, Jackson, Clay, Platte, Howard, and Chariton, where anti-Radicalism was almost a state of mind, would outnumber in the convention the delegates from the Radical strongholds along the Iowa border and in the southwest. For the apportionment in a large number of Democratic counties, see *Republican*, June 15, July 2, Aug. 11, 1870; *Jefferson City Tribune*, Aug. 10, 1870.

¹⁷¹*Democrat*, July 27, 1870.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*

¹⁷³*Ibid.*

appear in the convention 120 delegates selected by counties in the sparsely settled regions where the fractional basis was less than fifty actual or prospective voters.¹⁷⁴

During the mid-summer of 1870 the imputations upon the integrity and fairness of the committee became widespread.¹⁷⁵ The liberals were confirmed in their conviction that the basis of apportionment was a device for the perpetuation of the extremists' control over the machinery and policy of the Radical party. Certain members of the committee, especially the secretary, paid scant attention to the virtuous excitement of their party opponents and made no attempt to stem the adverse feeling. The chairman, Fox, fearing that the party as a whole would never acquiesce in the decision of the committee, called a special meeting of that body in St. Louis on August 2, 1870. After a prolonged discussion, it was decided to amend in several particulars the original plan, although its basic features were not materially changed.¹⁷⁶ In the first place, the fraction of white Radical voters, over 150, which should be entitled to an additional delegate was placed at fifty, but each county was to have one delegate, irrespective of the number of votes cast in the election of 1868. Secondly, one delegate was allotted to the negroes in each county, however few in number. Finally, the counties in the State having more than one representative in the Legislature, twelve in number, were given an additional delegate in the convention.¹⁷⁷

The definite announcement of the committee's decision did not serve entirely to reassure the liberal leaders. It was known that a sharp difference of opinion had been manifest in its deliberations, and that the revised plan was not entirely

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*, July 26, 1870. This constituted some fifteen per cent of the total number of delegates. "It (the plan of the committee) gives to a few voters. . . . an enormously disproportionate representation and thus throws the organization into the hands of a very few," *ibid.*, July 27, 1870. The German vote in the convention, excluding St. Louis county and city, was 120 votes; the latter had 134, of which the Germans had a large, probably a controlling, influence, *ibid.*, July 8, 1870.

¹⁷⁵A complete discussion of the question is found in the *Democrat*, June 15-August 15, 1870, and in the *St. Joseph Herald*, July, 1870.

¹⁷⁶*Republican*, Aug. 3, 5, 1870; *Booneville Eagle*, Aug. 6, 1870.

¹⁷⁷St. Louis County was not included in this arrangement, *ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1870.

satisfactory to either group.¹⁷⁸ The liberals continued vehemently to assail the entire scheme; their statements were not characterized by moderation or good judgment and tended further to alienate the other faction. The reciprocal distrust earlier created was in no wise diminished, and constituted but another evidence of the dangers confronting the Radical party.

By the committee's final action, the convention was composed of 797 delegates; of whom 605 represented white voters; while ninety-three represented negroes in the several counties numerous enough to be entitled to a delegate, that is to say, in excess of fifty, and eighty-seven delegates were assigned to counties in which the male freedmen over twenty-one years of age numbered less than fifty.¹⁷⁹ Certain counties, having more than one representative in the General Assembly, received an additional delegate.¹⁸⁰ On a state-wide basis, there was one delegate for every 140 votes cast in 1868 for Grant and one for every 90 adult male negroes.¹⁸¹ Fully one-half of the total Radical strength, including both whites and negroes, was concentrated in twenty-three counties having in the convention 368 delegates, while the remaining ninety-three counties had 428 delegates, a voting majority of sixty.¹⁸² The 861 white Radical voters of Cole complained that their six delegates would be offset by seven adult negroes from six border counties.¹⁸³ The St. Louis liberals were almost daily informed of the iniquities of the apportionment and continued to regard themselves as the victims of a dia-

¹⁷⁸*Democrat*, Aug. 4, 1870.

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰The counties were Boone, Buchanan, Cooper, Franklin, Greene, Jackson, Lafayette, Marion, Pike, and St. Charles, *House Journal*, 25th General Assembly, 1869, pp. 4-6.

¹⁸¹*Democrat*, Aug. 4, 1870.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, Aug. 5, 1870. "The committee, therefore, deliberately and intentionally decided that ninety colored men who never voted should count as much in the convention as 140 who voted for Grant," *Statesman*, Aug. 10, 1870.

¹⁸³*Jefferson City Tribune*, Aug. 10, 1870. Twenty-six counties with eighty-four freedmen had a delegation of twenty-six, while thirty-seven other counties, each with less than fifty adult negroes, had thirty-seven delegates. Thus, in sixty-three counties a very small number of negroes benefited unduly by a system which did not give similar advantage to the whites. In only seven counties did the white Radical voters number less than fifty, *Republican*, Aug. 5, 1870.

bolical device whose purpose was to defeat the laudable aims of progress.¹⁸⁴ The party organization was thus assured of a compact and formidable group of anti-liberals in the convention who, it was freely predicted, would be ready to oppose the endorsement of the amendments and the nomination for governor of B. Gratz Brown.

Meanwhile, the initial stages of the pre-convention campaign for the governorship had conclusively demonstrated that the factions in the Radical party were drifting steadily apart and that the party's continued ascendancy was threatened by a defection of discontented liberals. McClurg had long been regarded with disfavor by many prominent men in the party and they were determined to prevent his renomination.¹⁸⁵ It was plainly apparent some months before the convention assembled that the governor desired a second term and would use all the forces at his disposal to secure it.¹⁸⁶ Thus, the issue was fairly joined during the winter of 1870.

The first task of the anti-McClurg element was to expose what they considered his peculiar unfitness for the nomination. As a border Radical, he had always been an ostentatious exponent of the extremist policy and it seemed reason-

¹⁸⁴	Vote in 1868.	Delegates, 1870.
1. St. Louis, 4th ward.....	1,187	9
Texas, Taney, Dent.....	620	9
2. St. Louis, 5th ward.....	1,168	10
Reynolds, Pemiscot, Oregon, McDonald, Carter...	268	10
3. St. Louis, 7th ward.....	811	7
Mississippi, New Madrid.....	27	6
4. St. Louis, 8th ward.....	1,011	10
Mississippi, New Madrid, Callaway.....	229	10

Democrat, Aug. 25, 1870.

¹⁸⁵The western correspondent of the *New York Times*, who had been investigating the political situation in Missouri, wrote in May, 1870, "Of the Governor, I am bound, as a faithful chronicler, to say that the most sensible and intelligent Republicans here (St. Louis) speak with undisguised contempt as a person of mediocre ability and insignificant character."

¹⁸⁶*The Rise and Progress of the Liberal Party*, in *New York Times*, April 24, 1872.

able to believe that he would continue his hostility toward the ideas and the leaders of liberalism. The chief opposition to McClurg was based on his attitude toward the amendments and toward liberal principles in general. He had remained indifferent to the amendments while they were under consideration by the Legislature,¹⁸⁷ and shortly after adjournment the liberal dissatisfaction with the governor became open and widespread.¹⁸⁸ His silence and vagueness on the questions before the party at a time when there was naturally much uncertainty as to the position it would adopt, were interpreted as opposition to enfranchisement and to the policy of conciliation. "The selection of a man like Governor McClurg would be absurd," declared Grosvenor, "because he is not competent to advocate the liberal policy, and could only make it ridiculous. Any man who does not advocate the passage of the amendments will be defeated badly."¹⁸⁹

The St. Louis leaders were not alone in their antagonism toward McClurg. The Germans, a cohesive element of far-reaching significance in Missouri politics, were convinced that the governor was committed to the principle of prohibition, or at least to a rigid control of the liquor traffic;¹⁹⁰ a fact which was exploited among them with telling effect, and which tended sharply to increase their dislike and suspicion of the chief executive. Equally damaging to his standing among reflecting liberals was his attitude toward the personnel of the registry system. Several of the supervisors of registration designated in the late spring of 1870 were under grave suspicion of questionable partisanship, if nothing worse, and McClurg's reappointment of them served to emphasize his dogged devotion to the extremists and their policies.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷For McClurg's views on the suffrage issue, see *Messages and Proclamations*, vol. IV, pp. 408-09.

¹⁸⁸An early criticism of McClurg as an intelligent party leader will be found in the *Republican*, Oct. 22, 1869, and *St. Joseph Herald*, Dec. 10, 1869.

¹⁸⁹*Democrat*, April 13, 1870.

¹⁹⁰For example, see *Messages and Proclamations*, vol. IV, pp. 459-60.

¹⁹¹*Democrat*, May 3, 1870; Schurz, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 25-31; *Statesman* June 10, 1870.

Much exasperating friction between the governor and the liberals might have been prevented if McClurg's views on the proposed amendments had been known.¹⁹² His persistent silence concerning all the cherished aims of the moderate group was conclusive evidence to them that he was entirely committed to the continuation of what was called, with a fair degree of accuracy, "Radicalism." McClurg's imperturbability seemed due partly to his belief that the agitation of the liberals, and, to a lesser degree, of the Democrats, was merely a campaign device of his enemies, and partly to his singular inability to understand thoroughly the situations confronting the Radical party.¹⁹³ The governor's critic restated with approval the tradition which limited the chief executive in Missouri to one term.¹⁹⁴

The attack of the liberal leaders upon McClurg naturally brought into the foreground the discussion of personalities rather than of principles, although the exponents of the amendments continued to criticise freely the obscurantism of the ultra-Radicals with reference to party policy and management. Their chief concern, however, was to secure the nomination of a man who not only represented the ideals of the new movement, but who fulfilled, also, the definite requirements which practical politics seemed to demand of a successful candidate. To this task the liberals devoted themselves for several months prior to the convention, and by a combination of men and measures were able to bring to the support of their views a considerable number of those who, for various reasons, welcomed a new political order.¹⁹⁵

During the legislative session of 1870 there had been considerable discussion concerning the personnel of the state ticket for the autumn election. On March 12, an informal

¹⁹²Some of McClurg's supporters declared he favored the proposals, some that he was opposed to them, some that he had no definite views and believed that the party should have none, *Democrat*, July 24, Aug. 2, 13, 1870, and articles from other journals therein cited.

¹⁹³"He has been tried," wrote an opponent, "and his weakness, his narrowness of mind, his vacillation of purpose, his incapacity to give judicious counsel, either as executive or as party leader, have become known throughout the State," *Democrat*, June 27, 1870; see also, *St. Joseph Herald*, June 9, 1870.

¹⁹⁴*Democrat*, June 27, 1870.

¹⁹⁵As will be shown later, Democrats as well as Radicals were included.

Radical meeting consisting both of legislators and of certain local leaders considered the question and prepared a tentative list of candidates, headed by B. Gratz Brown for governor.¹⁹⁶ The remaining offices were so distributed as to give the proper representation to various groups and localities.¹⁹⁷ The decision of the caucus was strongly condemned by the extreme Radicals whose leaders charged that it was the work of a St. Louis clique, directed by Grosvenor, and in no way reflected the real views of the party.¹⁹⁸ The liberals were not slow to reply and to assume the aggressive in the contest for the nomination. The result was a perceptible widening of the breach between the factions, which added an additional source of worry to the moderates who for the sake of party harmony were diligently seeking a satisfactory compromise.¹⁹⁹

It was the problem of the liberals to select a candidate whose previous political record as a Radical would be unassailable; who would because of his opinions on the pending party problems be able to divert from McClurg influence and votes; and who by reason of his sympathy for the plight of the disfranchised whites and his fixed purpose to better it would secure the support of the Democrats.²⁰⁰ Despite the diverse, almost contradictory, requirements which the exigencies of the situation seemed to demand, the coterie of St. Louis liberals were confident that there was one man, B. Gratz Brown, in whom all the necessary qualities were most attractively combined. This conclusion had been reached, apparently, by the members of the Twentieth Century Club,²⁰¹ who believed they were readily able to supply the candidate and the leadership of the campaign.

Since his more or less voluntary retirement from active politics in 1867, Brown had been a negligible factor in the councils of the party, and it appeared that he would remain

¹⁹⁶*Statesman*, March 25, 1870.

¹⁹⁷*Republican*, March 15, 1870.

¹⁹⁸*Jefferson City Tribune*, March 16, 1870; *La Grange American*, March 25, 1870.

¹⁹⁹A. C. George to Schurz, St. Louis, May 28, 1870, *Schurz Papers*.

²⁰⁰It should be recalled that the term "Democrat" included all the opponents of Radicalism outside that party.

²⁰¹W. B. Stevens, *St. Louis: the Fourth City*, vol. II, p. 589.

in an obscurity which his opponents believed was well deserved.²⁰² Well informed politicians, however, realized that Brown was peculiarly suited to become the liberal choice at that particular period of Missouri politics.²⁰³ He had entered the political field in 1850 as a free soil Democrat; the supporter of Thomas H. Benton. Among the small group of Democrats who espoused gradual and compensated emancipation, Brown was for years the chief spokesman. He had never hesitated freely to express his opinion of the economic unsoundness of slavery in Missouri, but was not in any sense an abolitionist. He was trusted and admired by the German element which supported him before and during the war, and presumably would again do so. With Frederick Muench and Emil Preetorious, Brown had been active in the formation of the Republican party in Missouri in 1860, and an advocate in 1863 of immediate enfranchisement in the State. The ascendancy of Drake and the border Radicals was instrumental in causing his retirement in 1866. Brown had early championed negro suffrage,²⁰⁴ but had favored also, early and complete restoration to the disfranchised whites of all civil and political rights denied them by the Constitution of 1865. Under his direction, the Planters House conference of November, 1866, had been called, and he had presented to that body the series of resolutions endorsing principles strikingly at variance with the accepted maxims of Radical policy.²⁰⁶ Equally important was his unquestioned advocacy of the amendments of 1870. His aggressive methods, his ability both to speak and to write, and his personal charm placed him in direct antithesis to the nebulous characteristics

²⁰²"Never having done anything to merit popular applause or preferment, he was, with perfect serenity, filling the private station. Having exhibited in the United States Senate his conspicuous unfitness for public affairs, ungrateful Missouri had permitted him to withdraw wholly from the public gaze," C. M. W., *Gratz Brown, in Grosevor Papers*.

²⁰³*St. Joseph Herald*, March 10, 24, 1870.

²⁰⁴His views are admirably stated in his *Universal Suffrage*, (St. Louis, 1866), *passim*.

²⁰⁶For an interesting and critical view of Brown and the meeting, see Charles D. Drake, *Autobiography*, (unpublished mss.), pp. 1216-1220.

of the uncertain McClurg.²⁰⁶ In short, by all the usual canons of political availability B. Gratz Brown was a formidable candidate.

The course of action upon which the shrewd and experienced politicians in charge of Brown's fortunes had decided included a series of important speeches in different sections of the state. They desired above all else to repel the certain charge that Brown was the candidate of a small group of dissatisfied and selfish St. Louis journalists and their allies.²⁰⁷ Brown's address at Jefferson City on May 30, may be said to mark his reappearance in Missouri politics as an avowed candidate for the office of governor.²⁰⁸ He urged the ratification of the constitutional amendments and characterized disfranchisement as "slavery implying a moral degradation."²⁰⁹ During the next three months Brown and his associates were actively engaged in promoting his candidacy and in securing delegates favorable to his nomination.²¹⁰ The results were far from strikingly successful, despite the assured and solid support of the Germans, and the strong probability of Democratic assistance, in which the liberals professed to have no interest.²¹¹

There were convincing indications that, whatever Brown's strength might be with the progressive element in his party, he was confronted by a strong array of forces determined to prevent his nomination.²¹² The reasons for the resolute hostility toward Brown were varied. Among the officials connected with the state administration there existed a strong and perhaps not unjustified feeling that McClurg deserved a

²⁰⁶Brown was a double cousin of Frank P. Blair and had many similar characteristics.

²⁰⁷Special care was taken by Grosvenor during the spring of 1870 to avoid any definite announcement that Brown was the choice of the *Democrat*.

²⁰⁸*Democrat*, June 2, 1870. For a brief discussion of this speech see *ante*, p. 539.

²⁰⁹*Republican*, June 3, 1870.

²¹⁰A concise analysis of the liberal view will be found in Brown's speech at St. Joseph, August 5, 1870, where he warned that mere force and disfranchisement would no longer serve as the proper basis for a permanent political party.

²¹¹*Republican*, July 20, 1870; see also his adroit letter to the St. Louis meeting of the friends of Prussia, *ibid.*, July 18, 1870.

²¹²*St. Joseph Herald*, June 9, 1870; *Republican*, July 20, 1870; *Grand Ricer Republican*, July 21, 1870.

renomination, regardless of what action the party might take with reference to the proposed amendments.²¹³ Many of these men held party, as well as official, positions; they were influential in the local organizations which controlled in large measure the selection of delegates. Others were personally loyal to McClurg, and felt that it would be unfair to repudiate him.²¹⁴ A third group of Brown's adversaries were actuated by their intense and unconcealed dislike of him and their distrust of the motives of the liberal leaders.²¹⁵ "Whatever force he had," declared Drake several years later, "was in his pen and in his unseen management of subservient workers for his own advancement. He had a faculty for scheming ahead for his own benefit, which I do not remember to have seen excelled, and he gave full play to it."²¹⁶

The opposition to Brown was even more pronounced in the border counties of the north, northwest, and southwest.²¹⁷ These regions had consistently supported disfranchisement in its most extreme form; their opposition to Brown and to the programs of liberalism was pronounced and not overly scrupulous, and it seemed certain that they would covertly oppose the removal of the constitutional restrictions upon which their power was based.²¹⁸ They were determined to prevent the dominance of the party and the dictation of its policies by Schurz, Grosvenor, and Brown, supported by St. Louis, by the Missouri river counties controlled by the Ger-

²¹³"Brown has no personal strength in the State and is generally distasteful to the young men, and withal is suspected of being too much under the influence of the *Democrat*," A. C. George to Schurz, May 28, 1870, *Schurz Papers*.

²¹⁴*Boonville Eagle*, May 14, July 2, 1870; *Marshfield Radical*, May 21, 1870; *St. Louis Tribune*, June 27, 1870; *Hannibal Courier*, June 30, 1870.

²¹⁵*Grand River Republican*, July 7, 21, August 25, 1870.

²¹⁶*Autobiography*, pp. 1192-93. "He was facile and could be made a tool of; he was ambitious and would not balk at trifles; he was a professional phrase maker and could glaze things over; he was cunning and could keep a secret; and, finally, like Schurz himself, he had a natural taste for political intrigue and would embrace treachery on sight," quoted from C. M. W., *Gritz Brown*, in *Grosvenor Papers*.

²¹⁷*Republican*, July 20, 1870.

²¹⁸For a typical statement of this group, see *Grand River Republican*, Aug. 25, 1870.

mans, and by the southeast.²¹⁹ The basis of apportionment was of distinct advantage to the border Radicals, who were confident that they could control the state convention.²²⁰ The open and threatening opposition to Brown's nomination stimulated his supporters to renewed efforts, and through the summer of 1870 this relatively small but extremely able group labored to create both sentiment and votes for their candidate. That he would have significant strength was obvious long before the convention assembled; that the liberals would control a majority was very doubtful.²²¹

The first test of strength between the Radical factions occurred in the county conventions called to select delegates to the state convention. Early in June, the officials of the state central committee issued the general plan of party organization for the campaign.²²² Provision was made for the usual committee hierarchy, with the unusual request that the complete membership of all committees be complete on July 2, two months prior to the convention.²²³ This action aroused the serious opposition of both extremists and moderates, who felt that the committees should not be selected until after the nominations for state and for local offices had

²¹⁹For detailed analysis of the border counties' attitude, see *Boonville Eagle*, April 30, 1870, and articles therein quoted from journals in Butler, Laclede, Henry, Greene, Adair, Lewis, and Knox counties; *La Grange American*, May 6, 1870; *Lancaster Excelsior*, May 17, 24, 1870; *Sedalia Times*, May 19, 1870; *Neosho Investigator*, *Bethany Tribune*, in *ibid.*; *Grand River Republican*, July 21, 1870; *Milan Herald*, July 24, 1870.

²²⁰Some local leaders favored a neutral attitude and were anxious to conciliate both factions, *Rolla Express*, April 21, 1870; *Jefferson City Times*, the leading Radical paper of central Missouri which endorsed the amendments, July 29, 1870; *Clinton Advocate*, and *Marshfield Radical*, in *Democrat*, July 23, 1870.

²²¹German support was certain and united, *Westliche Post*, July 25, 1870, et seq., the other leading German language journals in the State, the *St. Charles Demokrat*, the *St. Joseph Westliche Volksblatt*, and the *Jefferson City Fortschritt* favored Brown. "Private correspondence from all parts of the State," wrote Grosvenor, "shows that this element is enthusiastic for Senator Brown," *Democrat*, July 2, 1870. He also received the endorsement of the *St. Joseph Herald*, *Ironton Liberal*, *Savannah New Era*, *Weston Times*, and *Chillicothe Journal*.

²²²The plan is published in full in *Sedalia Times*, June 16, 1870.

²²³*Democrat*, June 8, 1870.

been made, and the various candidates therefor consulted.²²⁴ Neither group, apparently, desired to enter into a preliminary contest for control of the party committees; neither hesitated, however, freely to comment on the ineptitude of Hilton and Fox. In some counties, the committee's desires were openly ignored, in others, complete or partial compliance was made.²²⁵

When the county conventions assembled, in August, the issues were fairly joined. An endorsement of the proposed amendments and of Brown would inevitably commit the party to a reversal of its past policy and would signalize the changed character of its leadership. If those who controlled the organization in many localities, however, were resolved to persist in their purpose to renominate McClurg, and to treat vaguely and evasively the enfranchisement issue, the future of the Radical party seemed uncertain. Hence, the necessity to both groups of securing delegates favorable to their respective ideas overshadowed all other issues.

In most sections of Missouri, local editors and politicians had labored vigorously in the interests of either faction, while itinerant negro leaders traveled through the State warning their colored adherents against the enfranchisement of whites.²²⁶ Supporters of the existing régime had assured their followers that the Legislature, in submitting the amendments, had neither the desire nor the authority officially to commit the party to their support.²²⁷ The expediency of party endorsement was seriously questioned by many; others were not loath openly to oppose them. "A great many, if not a majority, of the best and truest men of the party will vote against them at the polls. In some localities, the party will

²²⁴*Ibid.*, June 9, 17, 1870; *Boonville Eagle*, June 10, 1870; *Statesman*, June 16, 1870, and articles therein quoted.

²²⁵The most complete accounts are in the *Democrat*, and in the *St. Joseph Herald*, July, 1870.

²²⁶Schurz, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 14. The leading negro agitator was a St. Louis politician, J. Milton Turner.

²²⁷*Grand River Republican*, May 26, 1870; *Lancaster Excelsior*, June 18, Aug. 20, 1870; *Boonville Eagle*, June 18, 1870; *Jefferson City Tribune*, Aug. 24, 1870.

be unanimous against enfranchisement," predicted a competent observer in northwestern Missouri.²²⁸ From other sections of the State the evidences were unmistakable that a large element in the party would resist any attempt to make the adoption of the amendments a plank in the Radical platform.²²⁹

The first convention of significance was held in the Fourth Congressional District, which comprised many of the counties of southwestern Missouri.²³⁰ Here the dissension among the Radical factions developed into an irreconcilable quarrel. The convention met in July, several weeks prior to the state assemblage, because of the desire of those who controlled the party machinery in that region to secure an authoritative and hostile expression of opinion concerning enfranchisement.²³¹ The meeting became the scene of a considerable amount of interesting disorder, with the liberals meeting humiliating defeat on every important issue. H. E. Havens, a supporter of McClurg and an opponent of the amendments, was easily nominated for Congress.²³² After much acrimonious discussion,²³³ the platform was adopted; it was distinctly

²²⁸*Grand River Republican*, June 2, 1870. J. T. K. Hayward, a prominent Radical of northeastern Missouri, expressed the views of the opposition as follows: "There are those who demand that the party, assembled in state convention, should endorse those amendments and make them a plank in our platform and a test of party fealty. I am most decidedly opposed to this, as our party is known to be divided on the question. Let us leave it where the Legislature has placed it, to be decided by the people acting in their sovereign capacity," quoted in *Lancaster Excelsior*, Aug. 20, 1870.

²²⁹*Bolivar Free Press*, *Jefferson City Times*, *Springfield Patriot*, in *Jefferson City Tribune*, Aug. 24, 1870. The annual encampment of the G. A. R. declared: "That neither policy, justice, magnanimity, religion, politics, nor anything else will warrant the unrestricted enfranchisement of rebels in the State of Missouri at this time," *ibid.*

²³⁰"Everything is going smoothly in the southwest," wrote a local leader. "I believe the 4th Congressional district will go against rebel suffrage but I feel the measure will be adopted by the State. But little excitement in political circles any way," S. W. Headlee to Schurz, June 7, 1870, *Schurz Papers*.

²³¹*Democrat*, July 31, 1870.

²³²*Republican*, July 29, 1870.

²³³The speech of J. J. Grovelly, the liberal floor leader, impressed his opponents so unfavorably that one irate Radical delegate inquired: "How much do the Democrats pay you for speaking for them?" *History of Greene County*, p. 527.

non-committal on the suffrage issue and on other liberal principles.²³⁴ Whereupon, the liberal element withdrew from the convention, and issued an Address denouncing the actions of the majority and declaring for a separate congressional nominee and platform.²³⁵ With this exhibition of animosity and irregularity the Radical campaign formally opened.

The failure of the liberals to achieve their desired purposes in the southwest Radical stronghold in no manner diminished the optimism of their leaders as to ultimate success.²³⁶ The county conventions met during the period from August tenth to August twenty-fifth, and their proceedings were eagerly followed by all the political groups in the State. Despite the efforts of the liberals, the results were hardly encouraging. Some of the meetings furnished an occasion for each faction fully to develop toward the other bitter and demonstrative feeling, although serious clashes were avoided.²³⁷

In certain counties, the amendments were definitely endorsed and the delegates selected were known to favor them;²³⁸ in several, the candidacy of Brown received favorable consideration.²³⁹ Other localities proceeded cautiously to consider the advisability of instructing their delegates and concluded that it would be unwise and unnecessary to do so.²⁴⁰ Their apparent neutrality was interpreted, probably

²³⁴The resolution read: "That the question of enfranchising rebels as presented by the proposed suffrage amendment to our state constitution should not be considered a test of fidelity to the Radical party, and we recognize the right of any citizen to act upon it according to the dictates of his own judgment," quoted in *Republican*, July 29, 1870.

²³⁵For this address, see *Jefferson City Tribune*, Aug. 3, 1870.

²³⁶*Democrat*, Aug. 1, 5, 1870.

²³⁷For examples, see *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1870, p. 519.

²³⁸The counties included St. Charles, Ray, Cooper, Carroll, Cass, Macon, Buchanan, Saline, Johnson, Lafayette, Pike, St. Louis; there were divided delegates in Livingston and in Linn, *Democrat*, Aug. 11, 14, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 26, 1870; *Republican*, Aug. 24, 1870; *Statesman*, Aug. 12, 26, 1870.

²³⁹His chief support was found in Pettis, Cole, St. Louis, Johnson, Lafayette, Saline, Macon, St. Charles, Warren, Gasconade, Osage, Montgomery, *Democrat*, Aug. 14, 23, 1870.

²⁴⁰The counties which were opposed were chiefly those in the southwest and in the north and northwest; there was opposition from Cape Girardeau, Pettis, Adair, and Phelps, *Democrat*, Aug. 18, 20, 1870.

correctly, to mean surreptitious hostility toward enfranchisement.²⁴¹ When an appraisal of the results of the county conventions was made, it was at once manifest that the liberals had been able only in a minority of the county contests to control the party organization and to secure delegates favorable to enfranchisement and to Brown. Although Grosvenor claimed for Brown three hundred of the eight hundred delegates,²⁴² less enthusiastic estimates gave McClurg practically two-thirds of the convention strength.²⁴³ Anxious liberal politicians and editors, reluctant to admit defeat, professed to believe that the St. Louis delegation and its German allies would constitute a cohesive force and be able ultimately to nominate Brown.²⁴⁴ Others were more skeptical. They insisted that Brown did not have and could not secure sufficient votes to nominate him, and that the most the liberals could hope to do was to force the convention to a deadlock and to the final choice of a compromise candidate.²⁴⁵

As the conflict of opinion between the moderates and the extremists of the Radical party assumed alarming proportions the Democrats began to manifest no little interest in the political situation. They were distinctly encouraged by the shiftings of the political kaleidoscope and equally concerned with the possible rearrangements. Many of their leaders were confident that the amendments would be adopted, whether or not they received the specific endorsement of the

²⁴¹In a state senatorial convention a resolution which stated "That we are in favor of the adoption of the amendments to our state constitution now before the people" was amended to read, "That the vote on the amendments be not made a party test," quoted in *Excelsior*, Aug. 20, 1870.

²⁴²*Democrat*, Aug. 27, 1870. The votes for the other candidates were estimated as follows: McClurg, 300; Stanard, 100; Benjamin, 100.

²⁴³*Republican*, Aug. 28, 1870. It should be noted that there was more interest in the nominee for governor than in the amendments.

²⁴⁴Of the St. Louis delegation of 124, 105 were committed to Brown, ten to Stanard, and nine to McClurg, *Democrat*, Aug. 26, 1870.

²⁴⁵E. O. Stanard was the person most frequently mentioned. He was a prominent business man of St. Louis and was acceptable to the business interests of that city. "I prefer Stanard. He is not quite a statesman, but he has sense. He is honest, he is progressive, and he is right on all the vital questions," A. C. George to Schurz, May 28, 1870, *Schurz Papers*.

Radical platform.²⁴⁶ Although definitely committed to the passive policy, they had more than a speculative interest in the contest for the governorship. There was no diversity of opinion as to the candidates; from the first Brown had received favorable consideration, although there had been no mention of official endorsement.²⁴⁷ The indications were plain, however, that the rank and file of the Democracy would support him.²⁴⁸ With full realization that either Brown or McClurg would be the next governor of Missouri, most Democrats naturally favored the former.²⁴⁹ The sanguine expectations of the liberals that Brown, if nominated, would receive actual, if not official, Democratic support, seemed abundantly justified.

On the eve of the convention it was apparent that the liberals had only a minority of the delegates, and that, whatever might be the action of the convention with reference to the amendments, the possibility of Brown's nomination was exceedingly remote. The opposition of McClurg and the state administration, the hostility of large portions of the Radical press and of numerous county organizations toward the liberal program, the distressing failure of the liberals in the elections for delegates, and the pronounced factional antagonisms formed a sequence of events that could not be misunderstood. As the facts in this depressing situation became known there was naturally much speculation as to the probable course of the liberals.

Indeed, for several months there had been disquieting rumors concerning the final outcome in the conflict of opinion between the moderates and the extremists among the Radicals.

²⁴⁶*Statesman*, Aug. 12, 1870; *Boone County Journal*, Aug. 11, 1870; B. F. Massey to John Snyder, June 14, 1870, *Snyder Papers*.

²⁴⁷*Liberty Tribune*, June 10, 1870; *Conservator*, June 11, 1870.

²⁴⁸"Seventy-five thousand Democratic votes in this State would be cast for Mr. Brown on the platform of immediate and unconditional restoration to the disfranchised of every right and privilege," *Democrat*, July 1, 1870.

²⁴⁹It is interesting to note that Brown's strongest supporters among the Democrats were the former Confederates and their sympathizers. "As a choice between two evils, Democrats will prefer Brown," declared a spokesman of the group, "for, although a Radical and an original free-seller, he represents the more liberal wing of the Radical party, that is, he favors rebel suffrage and free trade," *Boone County Journal*, Aug. 11, 1870.

The possibility of a definite split between the two wings had been broached by the Democrats early in the summer of 1870, and hopefully repeated at intervals.²⁵⁰ "If their enfranchisement plank is left out," wrote William Hyde, "the Brown element openly declare they will bolt, which is to say they will bolt if McClurg is nominated, for the omission of the enfranchising plank implies the nomination of the present governor."²⁵¹ Some Democrats saw in the Radical controversy a continuation of the contest between the Drake and Schurz elements, with McClurg representing the former and Brown the latter.²⁵² Two days prior to the convention, Democrats were assured that the "bolt has already been organized, * * * and that B. Gratz Brown has declared, not only once but repeatedly, that he would infinitely prefer leading an independent liberal movement, even though he were certain of defeat, than be elected as the representative of narrow and proscriptive views."²⁵³

The suspicions of the extremists likewise had been aroused. In the weeks prior to the convention an argument used with telling effect against Brown was that he intended, if unsuccessful in his quest for the Radical nomination, to enter the contest as an independent candidate.²⁵⁴ The responsible liberal leaders, however, were decidedly reticent, and even in the face of accusations, declined to make any commitments. What they did say was suggestive rather than conclusive. There was no evidence that compromise or concession, if

²⁵⁰"It seems to be understood that if the party refuses to put these proposed amendments in its platform, the advocates will leave the convention and nominate separate ticket, with Mr. Brown as field leader of the movement," *Republican*, June 16, 1870.

²⁵¹*Ibid.*, July 2, 1870.

²⁵²*Ibid.*, July 2, 20, 1870; *Statesman*, Aug. 12, 1870. The situation had, of course, been aggravated by the dictatorial conduct of the State central committee which, either intentionally or accidentally assisted McClurg's prospects of renomination.

²⁵³*Republican*, Aug. 28, 1870.

²⁵⁴*Southeast Enterprise*, July 10, 1870; *Grand River Republican*, July 21, 1870.

offered, would be considered.²⁵⁵ It did not appear probable that a satisfactory adjustment could be made in a conference of leaders, and if the issues were carried to the floor of the convention the party faced possible dissolution. Such was the dangerous situation which confronted the Radicals as the delegates began to assemble in Jefferson City late in August.

²⁵⁵A final analysis by Grosvenor declared that, "The question for the Convention is: shall enfranchisement come by the Radical party or in spite of it shall it come by the whole party moving forward manfully to keep its pledge, or after a wrangle in the local elections and by Democratic votes? Unite the convention for it... carry the State, and maintain Radical rule with enfranchisement. Reject it in the Convention, and we throw the contest into local elections, get beaten,..... see rebels enfranchised by Democratic votes, and so get Democratic rule with enfranchisement," *Democrat*, Aug. 29, 1870.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

President Glenn Frank of Wisconsin University says that if he were obliged to restrict his reading to one field he would cast his lot with the historians. Such a decision coming from a man as widely read as Mr. Frank, is significant. To part company with the "great poets, philosophers, scientists, economists, sociologists, and vagabond travelers" would be no happy matter, yet Mr. Frank says he would make this choice without hesitation. Some suggestive reasons are advanced for history.

In history one finds elbow room for mind and spirit. In it is the biography of man. It is the clearing house of all life and of all literature.

In history one finds information. It is the encyclopedia of the facts, the ideas, and the emotions that have moved and are moving mankind.

These five habits are stimulated by history reading, says Anne Longfellow Thorp: The habit of looking for causes; of realizing that men's opinions are influenced by their environment; of weighing opinions before passing judgment; of expecting changes to be slow; and of looking at the present with some perspective.

"A people who take no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."—Macauley.

This frequently quoted apothegm of England's popular historian contains so much of truth that its message merits exploitation among children and adults. It was recently adopted as the motto of the Boone County Historical Society. It is one of few sententious statements which can stand alone in its own beacon-light effulgence or which is so suggestive as to furnish foundation for lecture or book.

For several years I have been more and more impressed with the virgin character of three decades of Missouri's history. Roughly they cover the years from 1870 to 1900. So little is actually known about this period. Historical students and those in political science have tilled the ground before and even after this third of a century, but the soil of these years has not been scratched. Some surprising and valuable fruits are here waiting the patient scholar. I would also like to see some of those who pursue history as an avocation delve into it.

The time has certainly arrived to blaze a few trails in this historical wilderness, to light a few beacons in this historical, Dark Age of Missouri's annals. A perspective of twenty-five to fifty-five years is already at hand. Until recently the nation's history was similarly neglected and all knew more about the men and movements, events and causes of any decade prior to the Civil War than they did about any ten years after its close. This is still largely true although some exceptional contributions and even compilations have lately appeared. Missouri history is also deserving of pioneer work in this field. A production like that of Professor Barclay's on "The Liberal Republican Movement in Missouri" would be as invaluable for anyone of these three decades as his contribution is to our political history of the '60s.

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SAVANNAH REPORTER AND ANDREW COUNTY DEMOCRAT

Fifty years ago were founded the *Savannah Reporter* and the *Andrew County Democrat*. On April 30th of 1926 the consolidated paper under the editorship of Mrs. S. E. Lee issued a twenty-eight page anniversary edition which in typographical appearance, quality of newsprint, and historical exploitation of county, town, and people merits highest commendation. Neither care nor cost has been spared in producing this edition. It is not only a mine of valuable information but a summary of the last half century of history of Savannah and Andrew county and a classified index of the

Reporter covering these five decades. The latter feature is unique in commemorative press productions and is worthy of imitation.

In addition to this distinctive departure, the edition carries interesting, instructive, and well illustrated articles germane to the larger purpose of the edition. The tone of many of these articles is also somewhat unusual. Unstinted praise is given to the pioneer founders of our civilization, yet the authors do not hesitate to set forth facts portraying the superiority of present conditions over those existing in pioneer society. Such articles as those on dentistry fifty years ago, in which are described the pioneer dentist's equipment of two pairs of home-hammered forceps, a chisel and a hammer, are suggestive. Equally interesting are such statements as this from the reminiscences of the early makers of history, "In those days (the '50s and '60s), no one of any standing would be so common as to attend the public school when it was at all possible to attend the select (seminary) school." And a majority of the sketches reveal this same appreciation of the facts of history. One by Mr. O. E. Paul, founder of the *Reporter*, is especially apropos. There has been made a serious attempt by editor and author to present the facts of local history, and the result has been a most educational and fascinating piece of work.

KIRKSVILLE CUMBERLAND ACADEMY

In the *Macon Republican* of February 16 is an article by you on the "History of the State Teachers College at Kirksville." In it you say: "Professor Baldwin came to Kirksville where he found the old Cumberland Academy which had been established in 1859 to satisfy the demand for a normal school in that part of the State. However, the turmoil and excitement of the Civil War had caused its suspension two years later. Professor Baldwin purchased the building, and after giving it the necessary repairs, opened in it the North Missouri Normal School, September 24, 1867."

I can give you a little additional information in which you may be interested. My uncle, Reverend James Edward Sharp, established that Academy, and he was a pioneer in building churches and schools in Missouri. Having come from Scott county, Kentucky, when a boy, he entered the ministry in Missouri in 1849. To quote from my father, Reverend George W. Sharp's *Biography of Reverend James E. Sharp*:

"He was pastor of Kirksville congregation from 1856 to 1861. Under his management Cumberland Academy was erected in Kirksville, and had been in successful operation about a year before the war broke out. A small debt against the institution was provided for by subscription and its friends were able to sustain it. But the general hostilities and a battle in the town scattered its friends, cut down its assets and it was lost to the church. It was the first school of the grade of academy or college planted in Kirksville."

For nearly forty-six years Reverend J. E. Sharp labored for the progress of Missouri. In youth he was editor and publisher of *The Macon Legion*. At the time that Missouri was acquiring her greatness he erected or sustained churches in Kansas City, Moberly, Warrensburg, Chillicothe, Higbee, Madison, and many other places, and lastly, in Marshall and vicinity. When in Warrensburg there began the lifetime close friendship between Senator Cockrell, who was one of his parishioners, and himself. At the time of the death of Rev. James Sharp, fourteen years after he had moved from Warrensburg, the *Star* of that city said: "No man ever lived in Johnson county who was more thoroughly and universally respected."

His last work was in and near Marshall, where, besides being pastor of a church, he had labored untiringly and successfully for the establishment of the Missouri Valley College. When he passed away, in 1895, the *Evening Progress* of Marshall wrote: "No other citizen has ever lived in our midst who more thoroughly impressed his individuality upon the material and social and Christian and educational advancement of the community. To him largely, perhaps more than

to any other citizen, is the community indebted for the location of the Missouri Valley College at Marshall. The whole life work of Dr. Sharp is full of goodness and usefulness."

I hope you will pardon this reference to a member of my family, but it seems just to give this information. Sincerely, Grace H. Sharp, Shreveport, La., March 22, 1926.

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S ORIGINAL MONUMENT

July 4 marks the centenary of the death of Thomas Jefferson. The date is a significant one to Missouri, who in a sense owes her existence to Jefferson and the Louisiana Purchase. It is also a reminder that the original monument of Jefferson, which marked his grave at Monticello for more than half a century, now stands on Missouri soil—on the campus of the University of Missouri at Columbia. The monument was given to the University in 1883 at the request of its president, Dr. S. S. Laws, by the great grandchildren of the illustrious patriot and statesman, and the heirs of his estate.

It is a strange commentary that the final resting place of the author of the American Declaration of Independence was unmarked by any fitting memorial for fifty-seven years after his death. Jefferson died in July, 1826, and it was not until April, 1882, that Congress appropriated \$10,000 for a monument to his memory at Monticello. In the following year, 1883, when the monument provided by Congress was set in place, President Laws and Dr. A. F. Fleet, professor of Greek in the University, obtained the original shaft as a gift to the University of Missouri. The donors were the Misses Mary B., Sarah H., and Carrie R. Randolph, Mrs. Ellen H. Harrison, Mrs. Maria Mason, and Dr. W. C. N. Randolph, all great grandchildren of Thomas Jefferson. The monument was shipped from Monticello by Dr. Fleet on July 4, 1883, and was unveiled on the University campus with appropriate ceremonies on June 4, 1885. At the unveiling celebration, which occurred on the final day of the University commencement of that year, addresses were made by Senator George

Graham Vest, United States Senator from Missouri, and the Honorable Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State of the United States.

The monument is a plain obelisk, hewn from the granite of Jefferson's native hills, and designed and inscribed according to his own instructions. There was found among his papers after his death a memorandum marked simply, "Epitaph," which reads as follows:

"Could the dead feel any interest in Monuments or other remembrances of them when, as Anacreon says:

A heap of ashes we shall lie,
Our bones to dust dissolved.

the following would be to my manes the most gratifying: On the grave, a plain die or cube of 3 ft., without any moulding, surmounted by an Obelisk of 6 ft. height, each of a single stone. On the faces of Obelisk the following inscription, and not a word more:

Here Was Buried
THOMAS JEFFERSON

Author of the Declaration of American Independence
of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom
and Father of the University of Virginia,

because by these, as testimonials that I have lived, I wish to be remembered—to be of the Coarse Stone of which my Columns are made, that no one may be tempted hereafter to destroy it for the value of the materials. My bust by Ciracchi, with the pedestal and truncated column on which it stands, might be given to the University if they would place it in the Dome room of the Rotunda. On the Die of the Obelisk might be engraved:

Born April 2, 1743, O. S.

Died———" [July 4, 1826]

Jefferson's plans were carried out to the letter and the obelisk, which may now be seen on the University campus, is cut in the dimensions he directed without adornment of any kind. The inscription, exactly as set forth by him, is

carved on a marble tablet formerly imbedded in the shaft proper. This tablet was badly marred by the fire which destroyed the University in January, 1892, and has been since that time in the vault of the University for safe-keeping. The birth and death dates are carved in the stone of the base. The letters "O. S." which follow the birth date, "April 2, 1743," refer, of course, to the "old style" or Julian reckoning of the year from March 25 instead of from January 1. The Julian calendar obtained in Great Britain, and therefore, in her colonies, until 1752, when by an act of Parliament the Gregorian reckoning was adopted. The eleven days omitted from the year by the Gregorian calendar account for the fact that Jefferson's birthday now falls on April 13.

A NORTHWEST MISSOURI PIONEER, 1837

Thinking you might be interested in a sketch of early pioneer experiences in northwestern Missouri, I am enclosing a copy of my father's record (found in one of his old pass books) of his and mother's trip from Montgomery county, Kentucky, to Liberty Landing, Missouri, in 1837, and two years later to Black Snake Hills (St. Joseph).

Father was about thirty-seven years old when he and mother made this long trip. He was born in Montgomery county, Kentucky, February 5, 1799, and died in St. Joseph, March 11, 1883, eighty-four years old. Previous to the above trip, however, he and other gentlemen from Kentucky had come out to northwestern Missouri to look the land over with a view of selecting a new home; making the entire trip on horseback. It is to be regretted he left no record of this horseback trip during which one would suppose he must have had some exciting experiences.—Charles S. Kemper, St. Joseph, Mo., Nov. 28, 1925.

"S. Kemper and lady left Montgomery county, Kentucky, for a home in Missouri November 5, 1837 (Sunday). Arrived at Maysville Monday evening the 6th. Shipped on board The Home the same evening and arrived at Cincinnati before day Tuesday morning the 7th. Shipped on board the Smelter same day. \$15.00 passage and fifty cents freight

for St. Louis, and started for home. Cincinnati Friday evening the 10th, and passed through the canal at Louisville Saturday, and arrived at St. Louis on Monday evening at dark, the 13th. Shipped on board the St. Peter next day the 14th. Paid \$20 passage and \$1.25 freight to Liberty. Left St. Louis Friday evening 17th and landed at Liberty Landing November 27th, Monday morning. Came out to I. Duncan's the same day. Rented a house next day, Tuesday 28th, and returned to Landing for lady. Self and lady came out to Captain Davenport's next day, Wednesday, and moved home on Monday December 4th.

"December 22, 1838 moved to Fry's Farm.

"December 19, 1839 left Fry's Farm for Black Snake Hills and landed there on December 22, 1839, our present home."

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ENDOWMENT FUND

The announcement of the American Historical Association that it is appealing to the public for an endowment fund of one million dollars to enable it to carry on its work for history is interesting to all who are concerned in the preservation of our history. The money is asked for to aid scholars in the prosecution of research, to give assistance in the publication of books of history that are not popular enough to be brought out by commercial publishers without a subvention, to enable the Association to map out and encourage the development of new and neglected fields of history, to help in the collection, cataloguing, and preservation of historical material by supporting the efforts of historical societies and libraries in that field, and to carry on its varied activities, now seriously handicapped by the high cost of living and the consequent shrinking of the power of the small funds it now has in hand. The canvass for funds is being conducted by an Endowment Committee, of which the Honorable Albert J. Beveridge is chairman and Professor Solon J. Buck is secretary, with an office at 110 Library, Columbia University, New York.

The national character of the American Historical Association is seen, not only in its charter by Congress, but in the efforts made to aid the national government in creating opinion to promote the adequate assembling and preservation of the national archives in an archive building and by efforts to aid in the publication of such records as are essential to the historian.

The activities of the Association have grown up in obedience to the demands of the hour. When it was necessary to assume the publication of manuscripts the call was met by the creation of a Manuscripts Commission, under whose authority a long series of volumes have been published containing important material for the historian. In the same way grew up the Reports of the Public Archives Commission containing accounts of the archives in a number of states and in some cities. Another kind of work was the preparation of a "Guide to History," a revised bibliography, which is about to be published after its careful preparation by a committee of the Association. These are only a few of the services the Association has made to history in the United States.

Its officers feel, however, that the widening field of history demands a larger and more systematic effort in working it than has been made in the past. This great country demands that its historians take a larger and ever larger grasp on the things that make up the field of history. There is no disposition to discount the work of the individual as such, but he needs help and to some extent support in his work. Always working at his own expense he gets along slowly. Working by himself he may not understand the contacts of his own work with other parts of the general field. The Association wishes to have enough money at its disposal to make small grants to enable the individual to meet expenses which his own resources rarely enable him to bear without too much sacrifice. It is believed that if such help could be given the historian would work more cheerfully and more rapidly.

Another of the things aimed at is the procurement from some benefactor of a History House in Washington, to be used as Association headquarters and for the preservation of the records pertaining to the Association and to the lives and sacrifices of historians themselves. Such a House would be a visible centre of the work of this large group and it might be so managed as to afford them a ready and congenial meeting place when visiting the national capital, as they often do to prosecute their investigations.

AND THERE ARE GIANTS IN THESE DAYS

Anyone who reads the twenty-three "Personals" which follow will be deeply impressed. Paradoxically a perusal is both inspiring and depressing. Over a score of the State's leaders have left the stage of life but they have left enduring monuments of their work.

We speak of the "good old days" and of the "giants of the past." Here are men who until recent months helped shape the destiny of a modern commonwealth of over three million persons. Some like Allen, Feuers and Ray educated their people through the press, others like Bagnell constructed railroads. The present practice of building Missouri roads with auto license fees originated with Lowe, the local father of the National Old Trails road. Both good roads and river transportation were promoted by Roy. The unfortunate blind received help through Sturdivant, and the poor, food and all, culture through the humanitarian and philanthropist, Mrs. Kirkwood. Campbell served as lieutenant governor, Allen as state auditor, and Lucas honored his profession of law and was honored by the bar of a commonwealth. Wit and wisdom found nurture and haven in Lamm who rose to the Supreme Court Bench, and Gundlach left permanent impress on the metropolitan city of St. Louis. Others served in Union or Confederate forces, in local positions of honor and trust, in council and legislature. "The good old days" have not departed and there still are giants in these days.

PERSONALS

Albert O. Allen, Sr. Born in Fredericktown, Mo.; died in Omaha, Neb., April 4, 1926. He enlisted in the Confederate forces during the Civil War. He was chief clerk under state auditors James M. Seibert and Thomas Holliday for 16 years; and was state auditor for 4 years. He served as commissioner of Swamp Lands under President Cleveland. Mr. Allen was editor and owner of the New Madrid *Weekly Record* for 50 years. In 1881 he married Miss Laura Watson of New Madrid. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

E. C. Anderson. Born near Browns, Mo., August 14, 1862; died in Columbia, September 30, 1925. He was educated in the public schools of Boone county. He studied law in his spare time and was admitted to the bar in 1903. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Boone county in 1910 and was re-elected in 1912. Mr. Anderson served as a member of the Boone County Draft Board during the World War. He was president of the Boone County Bar Association at the time of his death.

William Bagnell. Born in Montreal, Canada, April 14, 1841; died in St. Louis, Mo., March 26, 1926. In early life he moved to Chicago and entered banking and brokerage business. He became associated with Jay Gould and assisted him in the building of the Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain and M., K. & T. On the death of Gould, Mr. Bagnell organized the Bagnell Timber Co., which became well known throughout the middle west. He was a director in the Mississippi Valley Trust Co., and other financial institutions of St. Louis. In 1889 he married Miss Sallie A. Adams of Boonville.

Robert Alexander Campbell. Born in Bowling Green, Mo., September 2, 1832; died in St. Louis, Mo., April 2, 1926. He spent his early life in Bowling Green and later attended Illinois College at Jacksonville, Ill., from which he graduated in 1852. After a brief term as school teacher he accompanied his father to California and engaged in mining and ranching. Returning to Missouri in 1854 he became a clerk in a grocery

store and studied law under the late James O. Broadhead. In 1860 he was admitted to the bar. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the Union Army and was commissioned an adjutant under Gen. J. B. Henderson. He was mustered out in 1862, but re-enlisted in the 49th Missouri Cavalry where he was commissioned as a major. In 1861 he served as secretary of the Convention on the "Relation of the State of Missouri to the Union." At the close of the war he resumed his practice in Bowling Green. In a short time he was made president of the Louisiana and Missouri River Railway Co., which position he held until the road was leased by the Chicago and Alton. Then he was associated in the building of the St. Louis, Keokuk and Northwestern Railroad. He was president of this road until 1877 when it was taken over by the Burlington system.

In 1868 he was elected to the Legislature from Pike county and elected again in 1876. In 1878 he was chosen for a similar position from the city of St. Louis. He served in important positions in the General Assembly and in 1880 he was elected lieutenant governor. In 1885 he was elected comptroller of the city of St. Louis. In 1889 he was appointed Judge of the Criminal Court of St. Louis by Governor D. R. Francis. At the expiration of his term he retired from public life. Mr. Campbell was married November 7, 1877, to Miss Margaret Blain of Bowling Green.

John Feuers. Born in Switzerland, November 18, 1843; died in Linn, Mo., April 26, 1926. In 1846 his parents moved to Philadelphia; they stayed there for a short time and then moved to St. Louis. In 1857 they moved to Osage county, and Mr. Feuers attended the public schools of this county. At the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted in the Home Guards, and after serving a short time he re-enlisted in the State Militia. On August 9, 1862, he became a member of Company A, Thirtieth Missouri Infantry Volunteers. By a series of promotions he became a second lieutenant before his discharge at Natchez, Mississippi, May 13, 1866. Mr. Feuers then returned to his home and attended school for two years. Following this he taught school for twelve years. He was then elected assessor of Osage county and served for

eight years. He next became county collector of this county. On January 1, 1898, he bought the *Osage County Republican*, and was the editor and publisher until January, 1926, at which time the paper was bought by his son. His name was originally spelled Feuer, but at the time of his enlistment he was enrolled as John Feuers and has since retained that name. On September 30, 1882, he married Miss Ella Fahrner of Philadelphia. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

J. C. Gillespy. Born in Tennessee, August 3, 1841; died in Columbia, Mo., September 27, 1925. During the Civil War he was deputy postmaster of Columbia. Since 1870 he held the following offices: deputy sheriff, sheriff, collector, treasurer, twice representative in the General Assembly, and mayor of Columbia. He was admitted to the bar in 1895.

E. D. Grigg. Born December 10, 1837, at Shelbyville, Mo.; died March 14, 1926, at Verona, Mo. He taught in the public schools of Illinois and Indiana, and later studied medicine in Louisville, Kentucky. During the Civil War he was a surgeon in the Confederate army, and in the World War was a member of the Volunteer Medical Service Corps (as an inactive member). He was an honorary member of the medical association of Lawrence, Barry, and Stone counties.

J. H. Guitar. Born in Columbia, Mo., April 17, 1858; died in Columbia, Mo., September 27, 1925. He served as Columbia's first mayor and was president of the Columbia School Board. He was county treasurer of Boone county for two terms. Mr. Guitar was active in securing funds for the rebuilding of the old University of Missouri Administrative building, destroyed by the fire in 1892. He served as postmaster of Columbia from 1913 to 1918.

John H. Gundlach. Born in St. Louis, October 6, 1861; died in St. Louis, April 8, 1926. He was educated in the public and private schools of St. Louis. He began his business career in 1877 with Boehl and Koenig, photographers. Later he became chief clerk of the North St. Louis Yards of the Wabash Railroad, but he resigned in 1892 to enter the real estate business. He was very active in city planning and other civic affairs, and was especially interested in the

preservation of historic places. He was married April 19, 1884, to Miss Emma C. Dreyer. He was president of the St. Louis city council from 1909 to 1913. He also held the office of executive president of the Missouri Centennial Association and was the father of the St. Louis Pageant and Masque. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

V. V. Ing. Born in Franklin county, Ill., January 4, 1860; died in Greenville, Mo., December 27, 1924. He attended the public schools of Wayne county. He spent several years teaching at Halis College. In 1887 he was elected county school commissioner. In 1892 he was admitted to the bar. In 1896 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Wayne county and served two terms. Mr. Ing was elected representative from Wayne county in 1892. For many years he served as president of the Greenville Board of Education.

Mrs. Laura-Nelson Kirkwood. Born February 14, 1883, in Kansas City; died February 27, 1926, in Baltimore. She was the only daughter of Col. William R. Nelson the founder of the *Kansas City Star*. She was educated in the private schools of this country and Europe. After her graduation from Miss Emerson's school in Boston she traveled extensively in Europe and Egypt. She was married to Irwin Kirkwood of Kansas City in New York City, November 15, 1910. Mrs. Kirkwood always took an active interest in the civic affairs of Kansas City. In the winter of 1913-1914 when there was much suffering because of unemployment, she maintained a kitchen where hot meals were served free to the needy. With the opening of the World War she became president of the Kansas City Chapter of the Red Cross. Upon the death of Col. Nelson in 1915, Mrs. Kirkwood and her mother became the trustees of the *Star*. After the death of her mother in 1921, Mrs. Kirkwood became the sole trustee of the paper and her husband became the editor.

Henry Lamm. Born near Burbank, Wayne county, Ohio, December 3, 1846; died in Sedalia, Mo., May 23, 1926. He was educated in the public schools of his native county, and was graduated from the University of Michigan in 1869. He moved to Sedalia, Missouri, in the same year and began

teaching school. He studied law at the same time and was admitted to the bar in 1871. For thirty years he was a member of the law firm of Sangree and Lamm of Sedalia. He served one term as prosecuting attorney of Pettis county. Mr. Lamm was a former judge of the Missouri Supreme Court. In 1915 he was elected president of the Missouri Bar Association, and in 1916 was the Republican nominee for governor of Missouri. He was married June 18, 1874, to Miss Grace Adela Rose at East Saginaw, Michigan. Judge Lamm was the author of the volume, "Wit, Wisdom, and Philosophy," which was compiled a few years ago by Fred C. Mullinix. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

John ("Uncle John") Lucas. Born at Danville, Ky., February 8, 1852; died March 18, 1926, at Kansas City. He spent his boyhood in Danville, at the same time learning the merchandising business in his father's store. Going to Harrodsburg, Ky., he became a young merchant in that place. During his residence here he studied law. He married Miss Nannie Caldwell on November 25, 1869, at Harrodsburg. In August, 1871, he moved to Osceola, Mo., where he made his home for 55 years. In 1872, Mr. Lucas began the practice of law in Osceola, making his start in the law office of Waldo P. Johnson. In 1874 he entered into a law partnership with William T. Johnson. For many years he was the district attorney of the Frisco Railroad. In 1889 he became associated with H. P. Faris, at Clinton, in the Brinkerhoff-Faris Trust and Savings Company. Then in 1869 he and Mr. Johnson organized the Johnson-Lucas Banking Co., in Osceola.

Joseph Macauley Lowe. Born in Pendleton county, Ky., in 1844; died in Kansas City, Mo., April 16, 1926. At the age of 16 he enlisted in the Confederate forces and served until the end of the war. Following this he taught school at Greenfield, Ind., and shortly began the study of law. He served as clerk of the Indiana State Senate, and was admitted to the bar in that state. In 1868 Judge Lowe moved to Plattsburg, Mo., where he practiced law for fifteen years. For four successive terms he served as prosecuting attorney of Clinton county. Judge Lowe moved to Kansas City and practiced law for several years. He also served in several

appointive offices and as judge of the Jackson county court. In 1909 he became actively interested in the building of good roads and from 1912 till the time of his death he was president of the National Old Trails organization. He was the author of a book on this subject. It was he who is given credit for first proposing that vehicle license fees be used for highway maintenance. He married Miss Mary Elizabeth McWilliams of Plattsburg. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

John J. Martin. Born in Clinton county, Ill., February 11, 1847; died in Jefferson City, July 15, 1925. He served in the Union army during the Civil War. He was educated at the Illinois Wesleyan University at Bloomington, and the Cincinnati Law School at Cincinnati. He entered the ministry in 1878. He was president of Marionville College, Marionville, Mo., for four years and was president of Carleton College, Farmington, Mo., for five years. He served as chaplain of the House of Representatives for one term.

Charles Ray. Born at Gadfly, now Corsicana, Mo., on November 3, 1856; died February 28, 1926, at Cassville, Mo. He was associated with the management and editorship of the Cassville *Democrat* since it was purchased by his father in 1872, with the exception of a short time. Upon the death of his father, he became editor of the paper in 1888. In 1884, Mr. Ray was elected treasurer of Barry county, and held this office for two terms. In 1893 he was appointed postmaster of Cassville, and held this place until November, 1897, when he again turned his attention to the editing of the *Democrat*.

Sydney J. Roy. Born near Nelsonville, Mo., in 1873, and died in Washington, D. C., April 15, 1926. Mr. Roy was a member of one of the largest families in Marion county, having had eight brothers and two sisters. He took an early interest in politics. He was appointed a clerk of the committee on municipal corporations of the Missouri General Assembly during the 1889 session. He was elected assistant chief clerk of the House of Representatives in 1893. For several years he was secretary of the Hannibal Chamber of Commerce and was closely connected with Hannibal business

interests. Later he became secretary of the Mississippi River Improvement Association. He was admitted to the bar in 1904 and soon afterwards entered into practice in Marion county. He was married in 1894 to Miss Jennie Curry of Jefferson City. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

Joseph D. Shewalter. Born in Virginia in 1856; died December 23, 1925. He served as a Confederate soldier in the Civil War. He was judge of the Lafayette county probate court and also served as a representative in the General Assembly. He wrote a history of the United States Constitution.

W. L. Sturdevant. Born near Salem, Indiana, in 1861; died in St. Louis, Mo., May 19, 1926. He was educated in the public schools of his native county and a normal school at Danville, Indiana. Following his graduation he taught school, and at night studied law. After his admission to the bar he practiced in Wichita, Kansas, and in Oklahoma. For the last thirty years preceding his death he practiced in St. Louis, Missouri. He was a former president of the Missouri Bar Association. Mr. Sturdevant was appointed a member of the Missouri Commission for the Blind by Governor Hyde and was re-appointed by Governor Baker. He was elected president of this commission in April, 1925.

Lewis M. Switzler. Born near New Franklin, Mo., June 20, 1841; died in Columbia, Mo., November 6, 1925. He was educated in the public schools of Howard county, in Mt. Pleasant College at Huntsville, of which college he was the first student enrolled, and in the University of Missouri. He was admitted to the bar in 1864. He served as city attorney and police judge of Columbia, and as probate judge of Boone county for fourteen years. He was also circuit judge of the Boone County Circuit Court for one term and deputy probate marshal.

John Arthur West. Born in Adams county, Ohio, November 4, 1843; died in Blockton, Iowa, December 23, 1924. He served as a Union soldier during the Civil War. He came

to Missouri in 1868, settling in Worth county. He served one term as presiding judge of the county court of Worth county.

Malcolm Latimer Wood. Born August 2, 1861, in Shelby county; died near Hannibal, Mo., April 7, 1926. He studied medicine and located in Palmyra, where he practiced successfully for several years. He was instrumental in the founding of the Bank of Palmyra, and from January, 1905, until February, 1916, he acted as cashier of this bank. Following his resignation he moved to the farm and practiced medicine for a time. In 1922 he was elected presiding judge of the Marion county court. In 1882 Dr. Wood married Miss Hattie Young.

C. J. Wright. Born in Lake county, Tennessee, May 11, 1862; died in Springfield, Mo., December 9, 1925. He was educated at Peabody State Normal in Nashville, Tennessee, and Cumberland University where he was graduated in 1884. He practiced law in Tennessee before coming to Missouri in 1887. He was at one time president of the Greene county Bar Association and a member of the state legislature and the city council of Springfield.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

SACAJAWEA, THE BIRD WOMAN

From the Riverton (Wyoming) *Chronicle*, February 26, 1926.

The final burial place of the Bird Woman, Shoshone Indian woman, known also as "Sacajawea" and famous as a guide of Lewis and Clark expedition in 1805, is located at Fort Washakie, thirty miles west of Riverton, Wyo., according to the conclusions of a special investigation just completed by the interior department thru the bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Thermopolis *Independent* recently printed extracts from various reports and stories that were used by the bureau in coming to a determination. Among these appeared the following:

Mrs. James Hart of Riverton, a talented writer of Indian lore, recently wrote the following description of Sacajawea's last resting place, an old Indian cemetery near Wind River, where, it is said, the Indians, following the teachings of the venerable Reverend Roberts, first buried their dead in the ground after the manner of their white brothers:

"A barren and rocky hillside, sloping gently toward the east. A fence of rough posts and barbed wire, with an old-fashioned step-stile leading over it. The log frame of what was once a chapel, now falling into decay. Graves in irregular rows, a few headstones of white marble gleaming among the markers of rough native stone. And bedsteads—white painted iron, most of them with paint peeling off and rust creeping thru, but in one or two places the frame of an old oak or walnut bed.

"Why bedsteads were used here in this way no one now seems to know. In lieu of fences? Possibly, the property of the deceased? Probably. For in one place a little iron crib incloses a tiny grave. In another, a hand-hewn papoose board is used as a marker. Here, a tepee pole flaunts the tattered rags of an American flag as a monument to some loved one. Over there, a spruce tree stands guard, hauled here from the far slopes of the mountains, its withered branches brown and dry, but still tipped with gay-colored feathers with which it was decorated to honor the dead.

"And in a stony space, a little apart from the straggling, crowded rows, stands a small, gray concrete monument with a bronze plate set in a sloping top. The tablet reads: 'Sacajawea. Died April 9, 1884. A Guide With the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1805-1806. Identified 1906 by Reverend J. Roberts Who Officiated at her Burial.'

"So here after years of wandering, no one knows where, for all trace of her was lost to history for eighty years, after hardship and grief and senile old age, she rests at last among her people—Sacajawea, the courageous Shoshone woman who helped to open an empire to a waiting world."

"NIGGERHEEL"

From the *Palmer News-Letter*, Albany, February 1, 1926.

In the southern part of Gentry county, about four miles south and a little west of McFall, lie the remains of a once flourishing little town by the name of "Niggerheel." Now this town has not always been known by this queer name but was called Havannah and today if you search on your map of Gentry county you will find it referred to by that name.

The once flourishing town is completely gone and to one passing there is no hint that this had once been a town site. One bare, weatherworn and desolate cabin remains to mark the place where "Main Street" once ran. A man as weatherworn and desolate as the cabin answered my knock and bade me enter. This man had once upon a time been one of the prominent men of the little city. In those days he was known as Jess Green, but today he is just plain "Uncle Jesse." When I made known my errand and name his weak old eyes kindled with interest.

"So you want to know just why this is 'Niggerheel' and not Havannah? Well, child, the reason happened long before you were born and while I was yet a young man, that was before all the folks moved to McFall and brought the railroad through their town."

"How long ago has it been?" I asked interestedly.

He stopped and studied. Then replied slowly, "Nigh unto sixty years, I guess. It was during the Civil War or just before."

"Why, haven't you heard how?" he asked surprisedly.

"Well, I have heard rumors, but I should like to know the real reason."

"Well," he replied, "It was this way. During the war the slaves would run away and come up north. Sometimes the masters would come after them and if they caught them they would return home with them, promising them severe punishment. Well, one poor 'nigger' got as far as here and his master overtook him."

"What did the slave do?" I enquired quite breathless.

"Why, he tried to hide in a hollow log along the bank of the river near here and he got fast in there and drowned. The log floated down the river and the last we saw of him was his heel sticking out of the end of the log. So we just called the town 'Niggerheel.'"

THE AUTO PERIL IN MISSOURI IN 1905

From the *Mexico Evening Ledger*, September 14, 1925.

Twenty years ago this month—in 1905—a formidable movement was started in this city to curb the "automobile evil." Several hundred citizens, farmers in particular, signed a call for a mass meeting to check or stop the use of motor cars.

The call for the meeting read:

"We the undersigned citizens, deeming it necessary for the safety of our families and believing that the automobile is a menace to the lives of our people and of the prosecuting of our callings, do hereby give public

notice that there will be a mass meeting held in Mexico at the court house on Saturday, September 23, at 2 o'clock p. m. to consult as to the best means of controlling this evil. And every man in Audrain county who opposes the running of the auto in our city or on our public roads is respectfully urged to be present."

The anti-motor car movement was headed by S. E. Kendall, county recorder.

"We deem it just to agitate the question, which is a very serious one," Mr. Kendall said in a newspaper interview at that time. "We wish to avoid the shocking events which are occurring daily in places where there are many autos in use. Instead of trying to make trouble, we are trying to avoid trouble."

A number of the women of Mexico wrote a letter to Mr. Kendall, praising him for his stand on the question:

"We the undersigned ladies of North Mexico, take this means of letting you know that we appreciate your attitude toward the automobile," they wrote. "We are glad that we have at least one county officer that can grasp at a glance the terrible danger of the auto. We say, if they have autos, let the owners of them have a private road and stay on it."

Seven years after the Mexico protest meeting—in 1912—there were only 24,379 registered motor cars in the state, and only 4,519 in Kansas City. Today there are more than one-half million cars in the state and about 70,000 in Kansas City. Today there are over 3,000 cars in Audrain county alone.

SOME "FIRSTS" IN ST. LOUIS TRANSPORTATION

From the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 13, 1925.

The first ferry across the Mississippi was kept by Cal Adams, an American, below what is now Elm street in St. Louis. The ferry consisted of two pirogues tied together with planks laid across the top, and his charge for bringing over a man and horse was \$2. Adams also kept the only American tavern called "The Old Green Tree House." In 1817 the first steamboat, "The General Pike," arrived in St. Louis and landed near the foot of Market street. It was commanded by Capt. Jacob Reed. In 1836 a movement was started to have railroad facilities in the city, and a meeting was held at the Courthouse in April of that year, called the "International Improvement Convention." As a result two railroads were eventually surveyed though neither was built, but in July, 1851, Mayor Kennett removed the first spadeful of earth, beginning the Pacific Railroad, now the Missouri Pacific. The first depot was built in 1852 by this road at Fourteenth and Poplar streets.

A NEW MARK TWAIN STORY

By J. T. Kenower, in the *Breckenridge Bulletin*, January 29, 1926.

Many of our older readers remember Parson J. M. Barron, who resided in Mooresville some twenty or twenty-five years ago. He was a unique character, a man of much natural ability, preacher in the Christian church, politician and public speaker.

He was an interesting conversationalist, a good story teller and in some ways had a varied and wide experience.

He had learned a little about printing in his youthful days and never quite got away from the lure of the art. That is probably why he frequently visited in the *Bulletin* office when he was in Breckenridge.

He was born and reared in Hannibal, said that he and Sam Clemens were boys together and had often been in Orion Clemens's small printing office when Sam Clemens was devil.

On one occasion when Parson Barron was visiting me in the *Bulletin* office, he related this story of "Mark Twain" that, so far as I know, has never been published.

Orion Clemens, who was considerably older than Samuel, had a printing office and published a small local paper. Samuel was learning the art and was consequently the devil of the office. He was full of mischief and was always playing some joke on others in the print shop; but most of all he enjoyed playing a prank on his brother.

Orion had added to the equipment of his editorial sanctum a new book case which he showed off to almost every visitor whom he thought would be interested.

Sam secured a bottle of whiskey and put it on one of the shelves of the book case, being careful to lean it against the door so that it would fall out when the door was opened.

There was a temperance meeting in Hannibal on that particular day, and it so happened that two lady friends of Orion Clemens who were attending the meeting called at the printing office in the afternoon. Editor Clemens, as usual with visitors, showed the ladies through the print shop, explaining the different processes of the art of printing, the different machines, type cases, etc., taking care to leave his much admired book case as a final climax of interest for the lady visitors, feeling sure that it would add to his prowess in the minds of his visitors as a literary man of books.

After drawing their attention to the beauty of the exterior of the piece of furniture, he opened the doors intending to disclose the rows of neatly bound books reposing on the shelves in perfect order. Of course the bottle of liquor fell to the floor and broke into pieces and the strong fumes of the Bourbon brand left no doubt of the nature of the liquid in the bottle.

Editor Clemens knew that no word of explanation or excuse would get very far with the temperance friends and weakly muttered something about not knowing how the bottle happened to be there, and the visit of the ladies soon came to a close.

Parson Barron said that Orion Clemens had a strong suspicion of who put the bottle of liquor in his book case, but knew that it would be useless to make any accusation.

Parson Barron has long ago "passed on" but we have never forgotten this first-hand story of an incident in the boyhood life of "Mark Twain," who afterward became a world-famous humorist and probably the foremost American writer. The story of his life has been written repeatedly, every incident and fact regarding his early life has been gleaned from those who knew him and published far and wide, but this amusing incident, so far as I know, has never before been put into print and we are glad to give it to our readers first hand.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME OZARK MOUNTAINS

By Rev. W. H. Yount, in the *Barnard Bulletin*, March 18, 1926.

In order to make my explanation of the origin of the name "Ozark" it will be necessary for me to refer briefly to the early history of Southeast Missouri, and the development of the lead mines of that section. And also to the early history of the development of the modern theory of geology.

So far as the writer knows, the earliest mention of the Ozark Mountains by any writer was by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, who visited Southeast Missouri in 1818-1823, and wrote a book entitled *A Visit to the Semi-Alpine Regions of the Ozarks*.

In 1823 Stephen H. Long, in his work entitled *An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, mentions the Ozark Mountains as "a hilly region not entitled to the name of mountains."

Ste. Genevieve, Missouri, was founded some authorities claim, in 1755, others dispute this date and claim the year 1735 as the date of founding the town. However, long before the dates given above lead was being mined in the hills west of the Mississippi river. Old Mines, north of Potosi in Washington county, was extensively developed in 1712. The King Mines on the lower Courtois were opened in 1701.

A German geologist, Abraham Gottlob Werner (1750-1817) advanced the doctrine of the Neptunian or aqueous origin of certain rocks. (Wernerian Theory.) Mr. Werner made two general divisions of the rock formations of the earth, namely, Aqueous Rocks, rocks formed in the sea by action of water, sedimentary, containing fossils. Azoic Rocks, rocks formed by the action of fire containing no fossils, rock without traces of life (written sometimes "Azote").

Mr. Werner's writings were published in the French language. At the time of publication many Frenchmen were coming to the mines of Southeast Missouri. A few of these men were familiar with Mr. Werner's writings and theories. These early geologists found the granite mountains, "Azoic Rocks," forming roughly a great circle fifty miles or more in diameter; they also found that the mines of any worth were located on the east and north segment of the Azoic Circle. A segment of a circle to a Frenchman is an "Arc" hence Azoic Arc Mountains.

During the closing years of the American Revolution there were a goodly number of enterprising Virginians who found their way to the lead mines of Missouri. The mines of Southeast Missouri were the only sources of lead for many of the colonists during the American Revolution. There, adventurous Virginians found the name "Azoic Arc Monts" being applied to the granite uplift that formed the background of the lead region.

The Anglo-Saxon has ever had a way of appropriating for his own, lands and language, and making such changes as he saw fit. "Ze Azoic Arc Mountains" was too much of a tongue twister for these, our hardy forbears, so they clipped the corners and it became Ozark Mountains.

The name Ozark Mountains was applied originally to what is now known as the St. Francois Mountains of Southeast Missouri. Austin and his followers gave the name to all the hills to the Southwest.

PIONEER DAYS IN ANDREW COUNTY

Reminiscences by C. W. Frodsham, in the *Savannah Reporter and Andrew County Democrat*, April 30, 1926. Semi-Centennial edition.

In the west part of the court yard was an old jail composed of a basement and one story. This upper story or room was reached by an outside stairway which led up onto the roof where there was a hinged trap door securely fastened with a padlock. Prisoners were taken up the stairway to the roof, the trapdoor opened and a ladder lowered down into the room. The prisoners descended the ladder which was then withdrawn and the trapdoor locked securing them safely within as there was no other door to this jail. There were a few very small windows near the ceiling for ventilation. I have seen oxen on their way to the western plains being shod in a blacksmith shop where the Burns Clothing company is now. The oxen were driven into stalls, then bands passed around their bodies and the animals hoisted into the air so that two crescent shaped shoes could be placed on each foot. Quite a different process to putting a tire on a car of today.

THE HONEY WAR

By I. Walter Bayse, in the *Bowling Green Jeffersonian*, Feb. 18, 1925.

Missourians have engaged in several wars in the little over 100 years of her existence, all of these wars more or less known to the average reader. While some of these wars were more than state-wide, such as the War of 1812, the Black Hawk War, Mexican War, and so forth, some were purely local, and of no particular interest to even states adjoining Missouri, like the Mormon War in North Missouri, the Big Neck War, the Slicker War, and the Honey War.

In 1839, the year after the Mormon War, the whole state was thrown into a frenzy by an impending war in North Missouri. The trouble arose over a disputed boundary line between Missouri and Iowa. The tract of land in question was mostly forest and very thinly settled. At the time Lyman (Lilburn W.) Boggs was governor of Missouri, and a man named

Lucas was governor of Iowa. Persons living in this narrow belt of land were confused, not knowing in what state they belonged. Tax gatherers from both states were each year collecting taxes in it. A Missouri sheriff, while trying to collect taxes in the strip, was driven away by Iowa officers. The governors of each state called out the militia to enforce the order. For possibly a month or six weeks the soldiers of these armies, perhaps more than 2,000 in number, confronted each other, and a conflict was almost hourly expected. Fortunately, bloodshed was averted by a man named Campbell, a cheap John poet and street corner peddler of Palmyra, who wrote a doggerel poem that set everybody to thinking what ludicrous figures these two governors were making of themselves. It made a huge joke of the whole affair, and caused the whole affair to go down in history as the "Honey War."

The Honey War

"Ye freemen of this happy land,
Which flows with milk and honey;
Arise! to arms! your ponies mount,
Regard not blood or money.
Old Governor Lucas, tiger-like,
Is prowling round our borders,
But Governor Boggs is wide awake—
Just listen to his orders.
Three bee trees stand about the line,
Between our State and Lucas;
Be ready all these trees to fall,
And bring things to a focus.
We'll show old Lucas how to brag,
And seize our precious honey.
He also claims, I understand,
We owe him three-bits in money."

Seeing the folly of going to war, Clark county, Missouri, appointed a delegation to wait on the Iowa Legislature and try to bring about an amicable settlement. The committee was kindly received and resolutions adopted asking governors to suspend hostilities, and let the Congress determine the line. Congress did this in 1840 to the satisfaction of all.

KINDERHOOK—CAMDEN COUNTY

From the Jefferson City *Jeffersonian Republican*, Sept. 24, 1842.

Natural Curiosity—The Tunnel and Cavern Lake!

This beautiful little lake is in Kinderhook county, in this State, and about 25 miles distant from Warsaw, which we had the pleasure of visiting a few weeks since. It is situated upon a high dividing ridge, and at the upper part of the tunnel, the circumference of which at the mouth, is about 150 feet, and about 10 at the bottom. After descending 30 or 40

feet from the natural winding stairs, we came to the mouth of the cavern leading to the lake, which is the elliptic circle. We now entered the silent cavern, and had another descent to make some 40 or 50 steps before we stood at the brink of the waters of the lake. The surface of this sheet of water contains about 2,000 square feet, and the cavern has some appearance of being the work of art; but its high and vaulted chambers, and its stupendous and magnificent ceilings as the impenetrable adamant, prove that man knows but little of the bowels of the earth. The Cavern Lake would be a rich and pleasant treat to the tourist or geologist, and should be visited by all the lovers of nature.—*Osage (Mo.) Valley*. (Editor's note: Kinderhook county is now known as Camden county.)

WHEN KIT CARSON WENT TO WASHINGTON

By F. W. Hodge, in *Adventure Magazine*, January, 1926.

Kit Carson, the greatest of all the scouts and guides, made his first trip to Washington as a bearer of dispatches at a time when travel through the wilderness was a hazardous undertaking indeed.

Starting from Los Angeles in March, 1847, with a very small party for the purpose of carrying dispatches to the Navy Department, Carson found the usual difficulties increased from the fact that he was accompanied by Lieut. E. F. Beale, who was so ill and weak that it became necessary to lift him on and off his horse during most of the journey, and indeed Carson doubted whether Beale would survive until the journey's end.

Only one trouble was experienced with Indians on the trip eastward, when a band of Apaches on the Gila River attacked the party one night.

Arrived in Washington, after journeying nearly 4,000 miles in three months, Carson was met by Jessie Benton Fremont, daughter of Thomas H. Benton, Senator from Missouri, at whose home he was hospitably entertained while at the capital, for Carson was the intimate friend and frontier companion of John C. Fremont during many a hard and trying experience.

Beale set out with Carson on the return trip, but was compelled to abandon it at St. Louis on account of ill health. Reaching Fort Leavenworth, fifty men were assigned Carson as an escort, which accompanied him as far as Santa Fe, where he hired sixteen men for the rest of the journey.

At the Point of Rocks on the Santa Fe trail the party was attacked by a Comanche war-party, and on the Muddy River, a branch of the Virgin in Utah, a band of 300 Indians in threatening mood, were dispersed only after it became necessary to kill one and wound a few as an example.

During the rest of the trip the only food was the flesh of two mules. And yet Carson regarded such privations as a trivial incident compared with previous adventures.

IN OLD GIRARDEAU

From *The Community*, Cape Girardeau, March, 1926.

At the Spanish post of Cape Girardeau in the Year of our Lord 1799 there was gathered a small group of men—formerly citizens of the new republic of the United States, who had come into the Spanish country west of the Father of Waters, had been given generous grants of land by the Spanish government and had become subjects of Spain.

It was a Saturday. The day was hot, the boots of the men being covered with dust from their tramping along the roads into the post, all being farmers in the country adjacent to Cape Girardeau.

In the party were some of the Ramseys, the Giboneys, the Ballous—a group of a dozen men, all of American birth.

They talked in a low tone, apparently discussing some topic of vital interest which they desired to keep secret from the representatives of the Spanish government.

"You say the preacher is out at the Randol place?" asked one.

"Yes," replied another. "He got there last night and expects to hold service in the woods near Randol Creek tomorrow afternoon."

"What's his name?" was asked.

"He is Parson James Johnston and he crossed over from the Illinois country yesterday," was the answer.

"Well I reckon Louis Lorimier wouldn't make much fuss if he knew about it, but there ain't any use getting him into trouble with the Spanish governor," remarked one of the group.

"No, he won't care. He don't bother much about religion, anyhow," said another.

On the following afternoon the Americans of the district began to gather in the woods near Randol creek, coming in small parties of two or three, until a score had arrived.

With the Randols came a stranger, tall and serious appearing, dressed in a long coat of rusty black, heavy cowhide boots and a high crowned black woolen hat.

His trousers were of butternut jeans, his collarless shirt of linsey-woolsey. His thin face was clean shaven, except for a fringe of whiskers that extended under his chin from the point of one cheek bone to the other.

After introductions to all the preacher began his services by taking from his pocket a tuning fork which he struck against a wagon wheel to get the "pitch" after which he led in the singing of "Old Hundred," all of the women and a few of the men joining in.

He then read a passage from the Bible, offered up a prayer, led the singing of another hymn, after which he preached a sermon, concluding with an appeal for converts.

His appeal was answered by Mrs. Agnes Ballou who was baptized in Randol creek, it being the first baptism by a Protestant minister west of the Mississippi river.

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